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THE ROMAN FORVM

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— *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (Jordan I, 3). Berlin, G. Reimer, 1906.

— *La pianta di Roma dell'Anonimo Einsidlense.* Rome, Loescher, 1907.

— *La Roma antica di Ciriaco d'Ancona.* Rome, Loescher, 1907.

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— and P. LINDNER, *Die Alliaschlacht.* Rome, Loescher, 1890.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER. *The Religion of Numa and other essays on the Religion of ancient Rome.* London, Macmillan, 1906.

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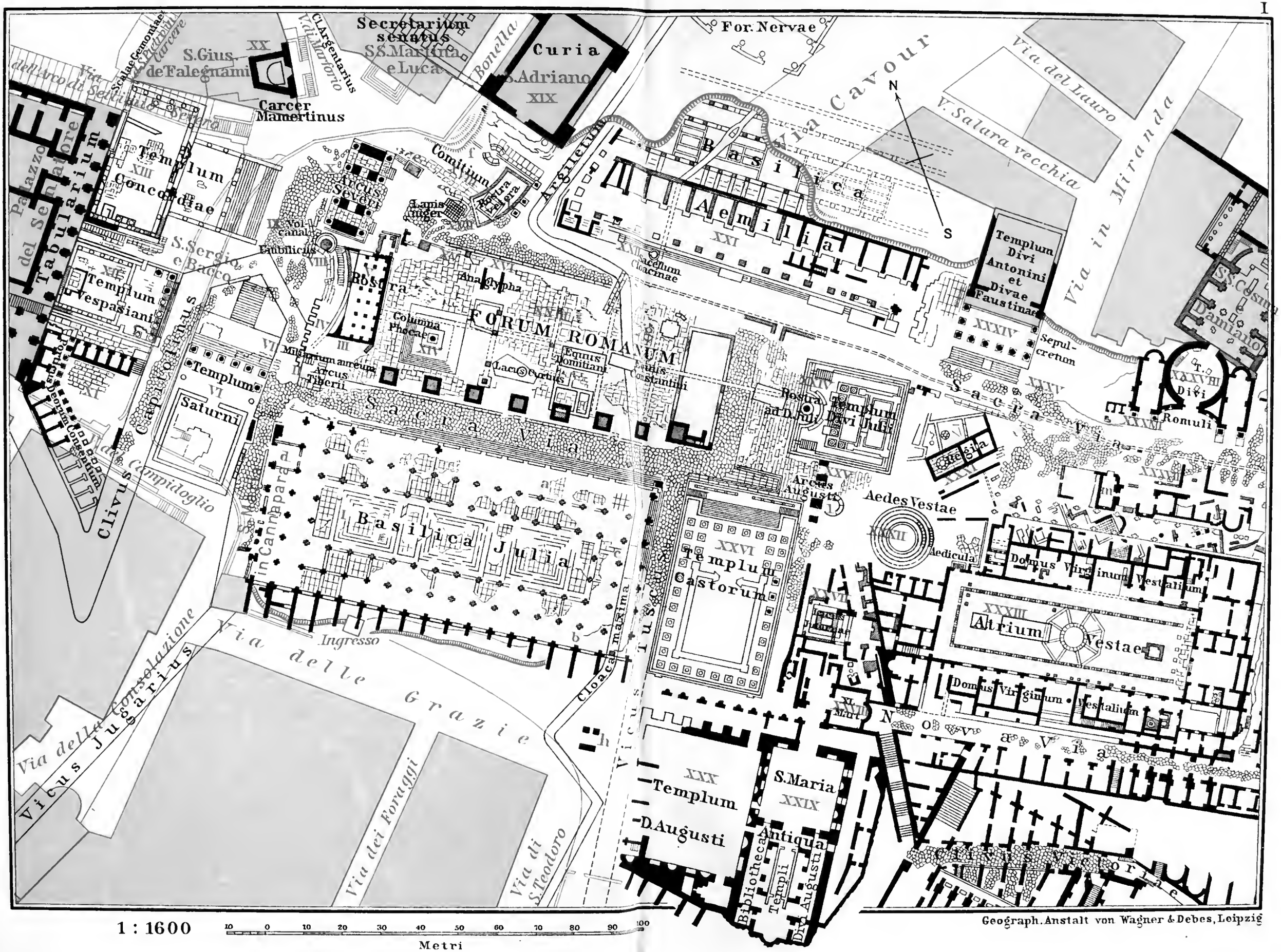
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S.S. Martina e Luca
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S. Adriano
XIX
For. Nervae
Via Cavour
Via del Lauro
V. Salara vecchia
Via in Miranda
S.Gius. de Falegnami
XX
Carcer Mamertinus
Cl. Argentarius
Bonella
Palazzo del Senatore
Tabularium
Templum Concordiae
XIII
Arcus Severi
Comitium
Rostra Vetera
Lapis niger
Argiletum
Basilica Aemilia
XXI
Sacellum Cloacinae
Templum Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae
XXXIV
Sepulcretum
Templum Vespasiani
XII
S. Sergio e Bacco
Rostra
Anaglypha
Columna Phocae
FORUM ROMANUM
Equus Domitiani
Equus Constantini
Lacus Curtius
Miliarium aureum
Arcus Tiberii
Templum Saturni
VI
Sacra Via
Rostra ad D. Juli
Templum Divi Julii
Regia
Arcus Augusti
Aedes Vestae
XXXII
Aedicula
Domus Virginum Vestalium
XXXIII
Atrium Vestae
Domus Virginum Vestalium
Clivus Capitolinus
Clivus Campidoglio
Basilica Julia
Templum Castorum
XXVI
Ingresso
Via delle Grazie
Cloaca maxima
Vicus Tuscus
Via della Consolazione
Vicus Jugarius
Via dei Foraggi
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CH. HUELSEN

The ROMAN FORVM

ITS HISTORY AND ITS MONUMENTS

TRANSLATED

BY

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER

DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ROME

SECOND EDITION REVISED AND ENLARGED

With 5 plates and 151 illustrations in the texte.

ROME
LOESCHER & C.°
(W. Regenberg)

NEW YORK: G. E. STECHERT & Co.
1909

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TO

MARIE VON EBNER-ESCHENBACH

IN DEVOTION AND GRATITUDE

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION

This little book, which appeared for the first time in June 1904, was accorded a very friendly reception by those for whom it was especially intended, namely the large circle of those, who, although not pursuing special historical and philological studies, desire more detailed information about the Forum than the brief statements of the guide books afford. In less than a year a second German edition has been called for; an Italian edition (*Il Foro Romano, storia e monumenti*) was issued by the original publishers in April of this year. I have tried conscientiously to make use of all that has been added in the past twelve months in the way of new discoveries and investigations: the detailed discussion of disputed problems has been excluded by the character of this little book. Whoever is interested in it will find the evidence for some of my own suggestions in my reports on the new excavations in the Forum published in the *Mitteilungen des K. D. Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* (I. Report on 1898–1902,

Rome 1903; II. Report on 1902-1904, Rome 1905; see below p. 253).

Thanks to the intelligent cooperation of the publishers the first edition of this book was copiously illustrated, but in this second edition the illustrative material in even more plentiful. The number of illustrations in the text has been increased from 109 to 131; and some of the less successful cuts have been replaced by better ones. This second edition has been especially enriched by the picture of the reconstruction of the Forum (pl. IV) for which thanks are due to Dr. Joseph Durm in Karlsruhe. — The plans of the Forum and the Sacra Via are based upon the corresponding plans in Baedeker's "Central Italy". I take this occasion to thank Mr. Fr. Baedeker for his kind permission to use the original plates.

The collection of sources and modern literature, which is printed at the end of the book, aims to give merely the most important references from classic writers and the principal modern investigations relating to the separate monuments in the Forum; the most important works treating of the Forum as a whole are given in Part I, Section III (p. 42 ff.).

It has been taken for granted that those who intend to use the book on the spot will make at least two visits to the Forum. It will be found most practical to devote the first visit to the monuments of the Forum proper (no. I–IX, XIV–XIX, XXI–XXVI), and the second to the Sanctuary of Juturna, the church of S. Maria An-

tiqua, and the Sacra Via from the Temple of Vesta to the arch of Titus (no. XXVII–XLIV). Whoever has time and inclination for a third visit should devote it to the Carcer (no. XX) and the temples on the Clivus (no. XI–XIII), and attempt at the end to reconstruct in imagination the Forum of the empire, obliterating in thought the monuments of the oldest and the latest periods.

Rome, July 1905.

Ch. Huelsen.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE
TO THE FIRST EDITION

Interest in the Roman Forum knows no bounds of nationality or language, and the value of this book for the visitor to the Forum is ample justification for its translation into English. It is for others to estimate the value of this particular translation, but it may be said here that an effort has been made to reproduce the ideas of the author without change, and the phraseology with as little change as possible. The translator has felt that it would be neither proper nor profitable to give expression to any difference of opinion. Fortunately the temptation to do so has been very slight. The present translation, while based in general upon the second German edition, has been revised and brought up to date by Professor Huelsen: in particular, alterations have been made in the sections relating to the Comitium, the Middle of the Forum, and the Archaic Necropolis. The number of illustrations has been increased and a new plan has been added; in this connection we are indebted to Mrs. E. Strong-Sellers for the interesting and hitherto unedited view of the arch of Severus, after a drawing by Brueghel in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Albert W. Van Buren for great assistance in the reading of the proofs.

Rome, December 1905.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION

The three years which have elapsed since the publication of the first edition have witnessed no very large number of discoveries in the Forum. Nevertheless research has progressed and made necessary certain modifications in this book, whereby we have conscientiously tried to make use of the modern literature. In several much discussed problems the author has not seen fit to modify his views, for instance regarding the history of the construction of the Rostra. In another place he hopes to explain his reasons.

The number of illustrations has been increased: instead of 139 this second edition contains 151, and in other cases cuts have been revised and corrected. We are especially indebted to Major M. Moris of the *Brigata Specialisti del Genio* for the kind permission to reproduce, in part, two of his interesting photograph taken from a balloon.

Mr. Albert W. Van Buren has in this second edition renewed his kindness in the reading of proof. We are glad to express our thanks for his valuable cooperation.

Rome, December 1908.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.
CH. HUELSEN.

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ERRATA

p. 197, l. 12, read XXXII *instead of* XXXIII.
p. 208, l. 17, read Lucus Vestae *instead of* Locus Vestae.

I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

I. The Forum in Antiquity.

1. Origin and Meaning. The word *Forum* has been taken into the vocabulary of many modern languages as a borrowed word, usually meaning a place devoted to law–courts and the transaction of public business. This is however not at all the original meaning of the word in Latin, where *Forum* indicates merely 'market–place'; and the old Roman grammarians derived the word from *ferre* 'carry' as being the place to which the people were accustomed to bring the wares which they wished to sell. Modern philologists are united in discarding this derivation, but they have not been able to substitute anything satisfactory for it. The word is usually explained as 'a place hedged about or fenced in'. Thus the oldest *Forum* which Rome possessed, the *Forum Boarium* ('cattle-market'), lay between the Palatine and the river outside the fortification attributed to Romulus, just as in the mediaeval hill–towns of Italy (Perugia, Urbino) the great cattle-markets were outside the circuit of the walls. And just as the cattle–trade in ancient Rome was carried on in the *Forum Boarium*, so the *Forum Holitorium* ('cabbage–market') served as a vegetable–market, the *Forum Cuppedinis* ('Titbit–market') as a place for the purchase of various food–supplies, while fish were sold in the *Forum Piscarium*, wine in the *Forum Vinarium*, etc.

The Forum Romanum, called in antiquity simply Forum, does not belong to the oldest phase of the development of the city. Even after the original settlement on the Palatine (Palatium, Cermalus, Velia) had spread over the hills to the east and the south (Fagutal, Oppius, Cispius, Caelius) and the ‘ Septimontium ’ city

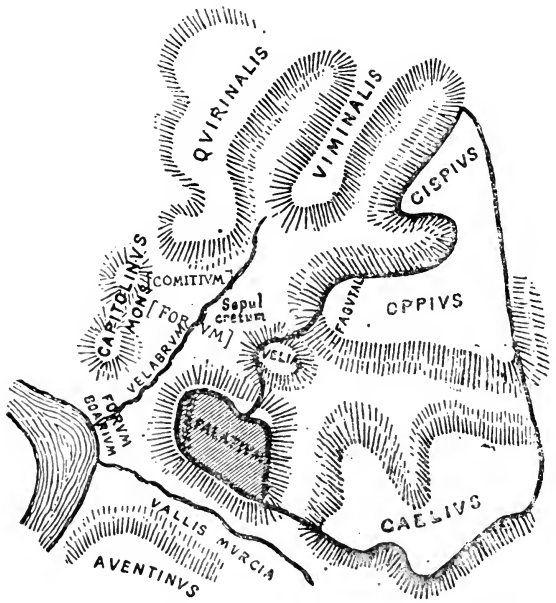


Fig. 1. The oldest city (Palatium und Septimontium).

had grown out of ‘ Roma Quadrata ’, the depression between the Palatine and the Capitoline continued for a long time a marshy valley, shut out from the city proper. Springs on the north side of the Palatine and on the east slope of the Capitoline watered the valley, and a brook which came from the hills to the east flowed through it and, continuing on through the depression of the ‘ Velabrum ’ and so into the Tiber, formed a very considerable protection for the north side of the Palatine settlement. Starting from the ‘ old gate of the Palatine ’

(*porta Mugonia*) a road ran north–west (toward the Capitoline) later called the ' Sacred Way ' (*sacra via*), on which, outside the circuit of the wall which bounded the old ' Septimontium ' city, there lay a burial–ground (*sepulcretum*). The valley of the Forum was not included within the boundary of the city until after the Palatine settlement had united with a Sabine settlement on the Quirinal and then spread out toward the north, and the two communities thus united had chosen the ' head–mountain ' (*mons Capitolinus*) as their common citadel (*arx*) and the seat of their greatest sanctuary (*templum Iovis Optimi Maximi*). Then the burial–place disappeared, and the little brook was confined within a walled channel and thus became the ' *Cloaca maxima* '. The Forum, the market–place, a large oblong piece of ground, extended from the boundary of the Septimontium city and the north corner of the Palatine up to the slope of the Capitoline, and was there joined by the *Comitium*, the place set apart for the law–courts and the public assemblies of the united communities.

Roman tradition preserved for a long time the remembrance of the early condition of the Forum:

' Where now the Forum lies, were pools of water and marshland,
Streams from the Tiber's flood swelled high the banks of the [brook,...
Where now through the Velabrum processions move toward the [Circus,
Willows grew for the herds, and reeds that shook in the wind '.

Hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes,
Amne redundatis fossa madebat aquis...
Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas
Nil praeter salices cassaque canna fuit.

(Ovid's Fasti VI, 401 ff.).

Legend in various forms filled this region with figures from the story of Rome's foundation. Here, so

the tale goes, in the war after the rape of the Sabine women the doughty henchmen of Romulus came into conflict with those of Titus Tatius, and a Sabine leader, Mettus Curtius, was caught in the midst of the valley, in a swamp or crevice of the earth, which was named after him the *Lacus Curtius*. After the battle had been stopped by the intervention of the Sabine women, the kings made a treaty of peace in the ' Place of Meeting ', the *Comitium*, at the foot of the Capitoline. In this same Comitium the third king, Tullus Hostilius, is said to have built the Senate-house, the *Curia Hostilia*, and the fourth king, Ancus Martius, or his successor Tarquinius Priscus, the *Carcer* or prison. All these statements, built on the basis of very uncertain etymologies, are not to be relied upon. When, on the contrary, tradition ascribes the building of the Cloaca Maxima to a powerful foreign race of kings, the Tarquins, who ruled over Rome in the sixth century before Christ, the chronological statement is supported in a remarkable way by the discovery of tombs, the latest of which are dated down into the sixth century, proving that the valley of the Forum was used as a burial-place until that time.

2. The Forum as a Market-place. The Comitium. Our knowledge of the history of the Forum becomes somewhat more definite, and our vision a little clearer, in the period of the later kings, and of the early republic; that is to say at the close of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century before Christ. In this period the Forum really fulfills Varro's definition of it and appears as the market-place to which the Romans and the farmers of the Campagna ' bring what they wish to sell '. Both the long sides were fenced in by rows of wooden booths (*tabernae*), in which butchers and vegetable-dealers offered their wares for

sale. On the festivals of the gods and at the funeral ceremonies of prominent citizens it was in the Forum that the games were held, which the more favoured classes in the community viewed, seated on wooden tribunes, or standing on the roofs of the booths, or from the Comitium, which was at a higher level than the Forum, while the common people had to content themselves with standing in the market–place. There was as yet no pavement, the Cloaca Maxima ran through the midst, still visible and only partly covered over, and where the ditch of the Cloaca entered the Forum, Cloacina, the purifying goddess of fertility, had a small sanctuary. Away from the Forum, uphill, alongside the ditch, ran an important street, the *Argiletum*, leading to a thickly populated district of the city. At the lower end of this street (*infimum Argiletum*) stood the chapel of the two–headed Janus, the doors of which were shut only when Rome was at peace with all the world. At the lower end of the market-place stood the round temple of Vesta, in which the six Vestal virgins guarded the sacred fire on the state–hearth. Near it on one side was the Regia, the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus ; on the other side at the foot of the Palatine the Spring of Juturna, the nymph of the healing water; and opposite on the slope of the Capitoline, the shrine of the fire–god Vulcan.

The Volcanal looked down upon the Forum and also upon the smaller and more aristocratic *Comitium*. This Comitium was consecrated according to the rules of the science of augury, a rectangular, almost square piece of ground, the sides of which faced the four cardinal points of the heaven. On the north side of the Comitium, in the direction of the Quirinal hill, which in early times was separated from the Capitol only by a narrow valley, was situated the Council–house, the

Curia, in which the Senate held its sessions. On the opposite side, where the Comitium joined the Forum, stood the speakers' platform and the waiting-place for the senators (*senaculum*). Along side of this senatorial waiting-place was built later a similar waiting-place for the ambassadors of foreign peoples (*Graecostasis*). The Comitium covered about two and a half acres (the sides were about 300 feet long), and it was in this space that the community, arranged according to *curiae*, came together in solemn assembly (*comitia curiata*) or for legal purposes. On three days in the year (February 24, March 24 and May 24) the king, or after the fall of the Tarquins the *rex sacrificulus*, by legal fiction the successor of the king, appeared in the Comitium and performed certain sacred acts, the true meaning of which was unknown even to the contemporaries of Cicero. There was one especially noticeable detail, namely that the king, after completing the sacrifice, left the Comitium in great haste as if driven out. It is possible that the inscription on the *cippus* under the Lapis Niger (see below p. 112) is connected with one of these mysterious old ceremonies. This *cippus* is the only witness in the Forum to the venerable primitive period of the Roman state: the other monuments of the Comitium we learn of only through the ancient writers. For example we are told that there was in the Comitium a round space fenced in (*puteal*) and near it a sacred fig-tree (*ficus ruminalis*). Both of these were thought to be reminders of the augur Attus Navius who by magic art had brought the tree here from its original position in the Lupercal: and a statue of the magician himself was to be seen on the steps in front of the Council-house. Near the speakers' platform were statues of men who had fallen for the fatherland, and besides this, important documents of state, e. g. treaties of alliance

with foreign peoples, were exhibited here engraved on bronze. And when about the year B. C. 450 Rome created for the first time a written code of law, the 'twelve tables' which contained it were posted on the speakers' platform.

In the Forum itself many important sanctuaries arose after the beginning of the republic (B. C. 510). The dates of their foundation are preserved to us in the chronicle which was kept by the Pontifices in the Regia; so, for example, in B. C. 497 (a. u. c. 257) the temple of Saturn at the upper end of the Forum, thirteen years later, at the other end, the temple of Castor. When the Gauls captured the city (B. C. 390) the Capitol was besieged, and both Forum and Comitium were laid waste. Probably very few of the monuments of the earliest Rome managed to survive this catastrophe. But the power of the Roman people itself not only recovered from this terrible blow, but withstood as well the internal quarrelling between Patricians and Plebeians, which lasted for centuries. When the struggle for the right of admission to the highest offices of the state was brought to an end by the Licinian–Sextian laws (B. C. 366), M. Furius Camillus, who had captured Veii, and conquered the Gauls, dedicated a temple to Concord (*templum Concordiae*) on the Clivus Capitolinus above the Comitium. The architecture of these temples must have been very simple and archaic. The statues of the gods, and the bright–coloured painted bricks which decorated the roof and the pediments, were mostly clay; the walls were made of native stone, tufa or peperino, which was covered with plaster and painted in brilliant hues. According to tradition Etruria supplied the models and also the workmen (to whom Tarquin is said to have given as their dwelling–place the *vicus Tuscus* or 'Tuscan–alley'). We may obtain an idea of what these temples were like from those at Falerii (Civita Castellana) or that

at Alatri, a model of which may be seen in the court of the Museo di Villa Giulia (see also the reconstruction Fig. 2).

3. The Forum as the centre of the life of the city. The Basilicas. Now follows the time in which, after the downfall of the might of Etruria, Rome progressed rapidly and obtained the leadership over the regions of Central Italy. The conqueror of the Latins, Gaius Maenius, consul B. C. 338, decorated the speakers' platform in that year with the beaks (*rostra*) of the ships which he had captured at Antium, and henceforth the platform was called the Rostra. To this same Maenius is attributed another innovation, namely that on the occasion of games in the Forum places for spectators were erected in galleries (*maeniana*) on the roofs of the booths. In all probability therefore Maenius was also responsible for the arrangement so important for the development of the Forum, namely that butchers and vegetable-dealers were removed from the crowds of trades-people in the Forum and in their place came the more noble trade of the money-changers. In compensation for the loss of the Forum, the *macellum* ('provision-market') was built for the butchers and vegetable-dealers to the north of the Forum (behind the *Tabernae novae*). The booths in the Forum, from now on known as *Tabernae argentariae*, seem to have been built more solidly, in connection with this change, and some attempt at uniform decoration seems to have been made; for example in B. C. 310 the gilded shields, which formed a part of the booty taken from the Samnites by the dictator Papirius Cursor, were given to the money-changers in the Forum as a decoration for the outside of their booths. An additional proof of the important part which Maenius played in the new development of

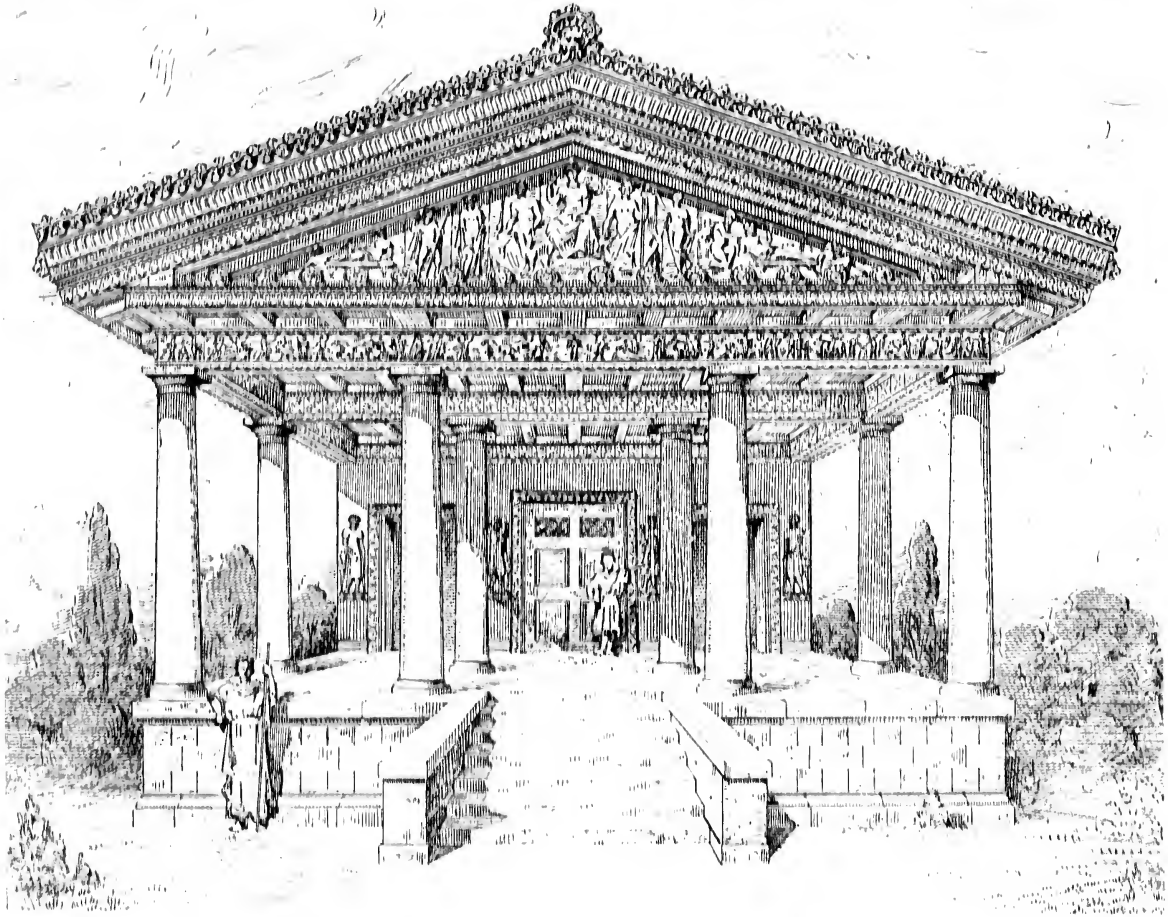


Fig. —. Etruscan temple.

the Forum may be found in the fact that an honorary column was erected to him in the Comitium. This column stood on the west side near the Carcer, and served for several generations as one of the fixed points in the primitive Roman measurement of the hours.

Fig. 3. Columna rostrata.

"In the twelve tables", so Pliny tells us (H. N. VII, 212), "mention is made only of the rising and the setting of the sun; some years later noon was added to this, and a servant of the consuls announced the noon-tide as soon as from his stand in the Curia he spied the sun between the Rostra and the Graecostasis. As soon as the sun began to sink between the Columna Maenia and the Carcer, the same servant announced the last hour of public business: this was done until the first Punic war, only however when the weather was clear". In B. C. 263 (a. u. c. 491) a sun-dial, which M. Valerius Messalla had brought as booty of war from Catana in Sicily, was set up near the Rostra. Although this dial had been calculated for the meridian of the place from which it came and hence showed the hour constantly wrong for the latitude of Rome, — it continued in use for ninetynine years, until in B. C. 164 the Censor Q. Marcius Philippus put up a better-regulated dial near the old one.

In the times of the Samnite wars the steps in front of the Curia received a remarkable decoration: an oracle had commanded the Romans to exhibit there "the statues of the wisest and bravest of the Greeks";

and Pythagoras and Alcibiades were chosen for the purpose.

In B. C. 263 the consul Messalla placed near the Curia Hostilia a great picture of a battle (*Tabula Valeria*), representing the engagement in which he had won a victory over king Hiero and the Carthaginians in Sicily. His example later found many imitators. In B. C. 260 (a. u. c. 494) the first Roman admiral, C. Duilius, obtained, in return for his naval victory over the Carthaginians, a statue near the Rostra on a column which was decorated with the beaks of ships (*Columna rostrata*); the honorary inscription of Duilius is preserved for us in a marble copy from the early empire (on the ground floor of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, see fig. 3; the *Columna rostrata* above the inscription is a work of the XVI century, imitated from ancient Roman coins).

In B. C. 210 (a. u. c. 544) a great conflagration raged on both sides of the Forum. The *Tabernae Novae*, the *Lautumiae* or 'stone-quarry alley' (on the east slope of the Capitoline), the *Forum Piscarium* (northwards, behind the *Tabernae Novae*), and many private houses, were reduced to ashes; and it was only with great difficulty that the temple of Vesta was saved (Livy XXVI, 27). This catastrophe led to the erection of many magnificent new buildings, which were however in the main undertaken only after the war with Hannibal had come to a happy end (B. C. 201).

At this same time there began for Rome a lively contact with Hellenistic culture and art, induced by her constant relations with Greece and Asia Minor, partly in peace, partly in war. For the Forum there came from Greece, possibly through the medium of the Greek towns in southern Italy, the model for a new kind of building, the Basilicas. These were large covered halls

which provided a place protected from sun and rain, for trials at law and the banking business, for the general operations of trade, and for pleasure-strolling, — in short for all those things which had hitherto been done under the open sky in the market-place. The first of these halls was built by the great enemy of Greek

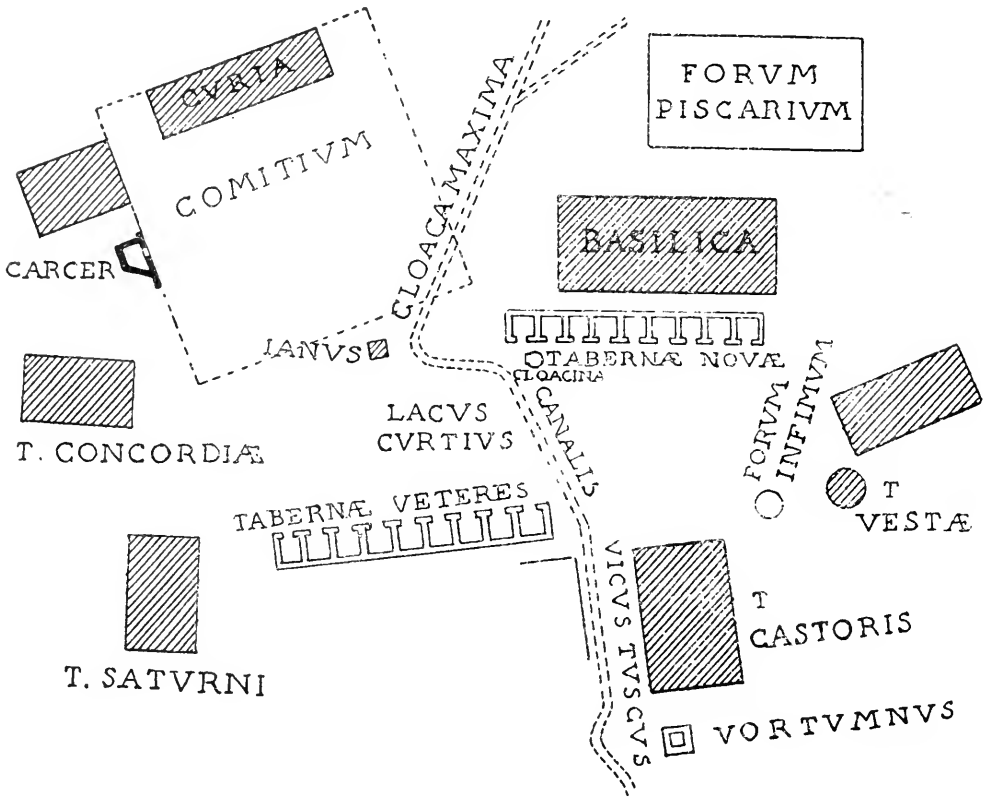


Fig. 4. The Forum about the year 170 B. C.

culture, M. Porcius Cato Censorius, B. C. 185 (a. u. c. 569): ' He bought two houses on the ' stone-quarry alley ' and four booths and built there the Basilica which was named *Porcia* after him ' (Livy XXXIX, 44). Since the ' stone-quarry alley ' was at the foot of the citadel, in the region of the modern Via di Marforio, and further since the Basilica was quite near the Curia Hostilia, its position can be approximately estimated. No remains however have been preserved: whatever was spared by

the conflagration of B. C. 52 (see below p. 15) must have been removed during the changes in the Forum made by Cæsar and Augustus. The censors of the year B. C. 179, M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, built a second Basilica on the north side behind the *Tabernae Novae*, and also a new fish-market. This Basilica, frequently restored and beautified, has been preserved in the form which was given it by the builders of the Augustan age (see below p. 123 f.). Next came the Basilica Sempronia in B. C. 170 (a. u. c. 584), situated behind the old booths. It was built by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus on the site of the house of the older Scipio Africanus,' near Vortumnus.' Possibly under the eastern half of the Basilica Julia traces of this building may still be found.

A picture of life in the Forum about the year B. C. 180 is given us in the so-called 'parabasis' of Plautus's comedy *Curculio* (a passage to be sure which seems to have been inserted in the play after the death of the poet). The speaker offers to explain to the public where people of all sorts, both good and bad, can be found.

'If for perjurers you are seeking, look in the Comitium,
If you wish for liars and boasters, go to Cloacina's shrine,
Husbands wasting their wives' fortunes meet in the Basilica,
Courtesans with checkered history, and fierce cut-throats meet [there too,
While the *gourmets* throng the fish-mart, buying tid-bits for their [feasts.
Walking in the lower Forum you will meet good men and rich,
While the middle part is filled with those who are not what they [boast,
And the borders of the Lacus crowded full of envious prattlers
Ready on account of nothing to speak ill of all good men,
Though themselves more fit to merit all the ill they say of others.
In the old booths are the usurers who loan money out at interest,
While behind the shrine of Castor gather men who've lost their credit.

In the Vicus Tuscus are those who will sell themselves for gold,
Ready to deceive in person, or to lend the means to do so.
The Velabrum holds the bakers, butchers, and *haruspices*.'

Qui periurum convenire volt hominem, ito in comitium:
Qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinae sacrum.
Ditis damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito:
Ibidem erunt scorta exoleta quique stipulari solent:
Symbolarum conlatores aput forum piscarium.
In foro infimo boni homines atque dites ambulant:
In medio propter canalem ibi ostentatores meri.
Confidentes garrulique et malevoli supra lacum,
Qui alteri de nihilo audacter dicunt contumeliam,
Et qui ipsi sat habent quod in se posset vere dicier.
Sub veteribus ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt faenore.
Pone aedem Castoris ibi sunt subito quibus credas male.
In Tusco vico ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant,
Vel qui ipsi vortant vel aliis ut vorsentur praebeant.
In Velabro vel pistorem vel lanium vel haruspicem.

A glance at the plan on p. 12 shows that the description follows strictly the topographical order: the Basilica in v. 3 is the *Aemilia*, the word-play in the next to the last verse is a reference to the statue of Vortumnus behind the temple of Castor (see above), but it can scarcely be rendered in English.

4. The Forum as the scene of political events. The year B. C. 145 (a. u. c. 609) marks an epoch in the history of the Forum. C. Licinius Crassus, tribune of the people, transferred the legislative assembly (the *Comitia Tributa*) from the Comitium, which had grown too small for it, to the Forum, and introduced the custom that the speaker on the Rostra should face the Forum, that is the people, and turn his back on the Curia, that is the senate. It was in the Forum accordingly that in the following decades the quarrels between the aristocrats and the democrats were fought out, under

the leadership especially of the Gracchi. The orators of the democratic party during this period frequently used the steps in front of the temple of Castor as a speakers' platform, in preference to the old Rostra.

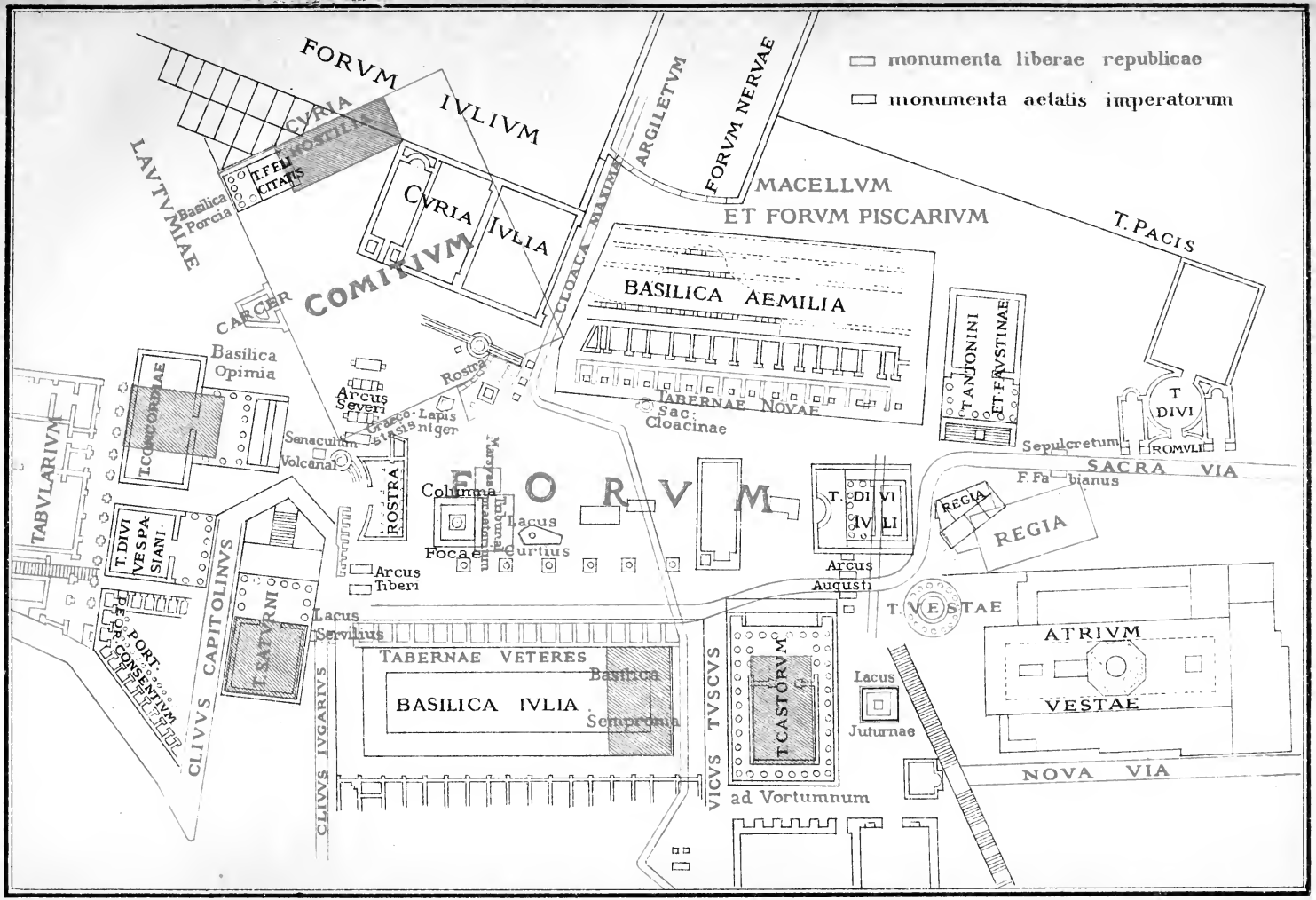
In B. C. 121 (a. u. c. 633) C. Gracchus was killed by the blows of the Optimates. His implacable adversary, the consul L. Opimius, was commanded by the senate to restore the temple of Concord, built by Marcus Furius Camillus. Near this temple Opimius built a Basilica, which existed down into the time of Cæsar and is said to have been a stately monument. Its stateliness must have consisted in splendid decoration rather than in size, for the site on which it was built was extremely small. In the same year, B. C. 121, the Sacra Via at the point where it entered into the Forum was spanned by an arch (*fornix*) which its builder, the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, decorated with statues of his ancestors, the Fabii and the Cornelii (see below No. XXXVII.).

Then came the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, in which the Forum was more than once the scene of bloody fights. When, during these troublous times, in B. C. 83 the Capitoline with the temple of Juppiter had fallen a prey to the flames, the dictator Sulla determined to rebuild both it and the Forum in splendid style. Sulla himself began the new temple of Juppiter, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, the victor over the Cimbri, finished it. This same Catulus built, in the declivity between the Arx and the Capitoline, a repository for the archives of the State (*Tabularium*), the big two-storied hall of which formed a worthy boundary for the west side of the Forum. In the Comitium Sulla himself restored the Curia and probably enlarged it, and in this connection the statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades, referred to above, disappeared. Probably the Rostra was restored at the same time, but the thorough changes

in the whole region which Sulla had planned were prevented by his death.

About the year B. C. 55 the Forum and the Comitium were the scenes of bloody tumults, especially between the followers of the tribune of the people, Clodius, and his antagonist Milo, and more than once the Rostra served as a fortress, from which deadly missiles were thrown down upon the adversaries. When on January 20th, B. C. 52, Clodius fell near Bovillae at the hands of the followers of Milo, his partisans carried his body to the Comitium and burned it on an improvised funeral pyre, for which the seats of the senators and the benches of the judges provided the material. The flames spread to the Curia, which was entirely destroyed, and in addition the Basilica Porcia suffered severely. Faustus Sulla, the dictator's son, built a new Curia, which however lasted only seven years, for a great statesman was beginning to develop a plan destined not only to mark out a new course for the whole Roman state but to put a new stamp upon the Forum and the old Comitium. This statesman was Julius Cæsar.

Even while Cæsar was engaged in carrying on the war in Gaul, he had already contemplated a reorganization of the Forum, among his many plans for the beautifying of the capital-city. At first he could of course carry out his plans only by means of intermediaries. In a letter written in the summer of B. C. 54 Cicero mentions the buildings erected by the consul Paullus, who had restored the Basilica Aemilia at Cæsar's expense, and had made preparations for the building of a second large Basilica (the later Basilica Julia). and adds: "Cæsar's friends, I refer to myself and Oppius, have felt no hesitation in spending sixty million sesterces [about fifteen million francs] for widening the Forum and extending it to the Atrium Libertatis. The owners


monumenta liberae republicae
monumenta aetatis imperatorum
FORVM IVLIVM
CVRIA HOSTILIA
T. FELICITATIS
LAVTVMIAE
Basilica Porcia
CVRIA IVLIA
COMITIVM
CARCER
ARGILETVM
FORVM NERVAE
MACELLVM ET FORVM PISCARIVM
T. PACIS
CLOACA MAXIMA
BASILICA AEMILIA
TABERNAE NOVAE
Sac: Cloacinae
TANTONINI ET FAVSTINAE
T DIVI ROMVLI
Sepulcretum
SACRA VIA
F. Fabianus
REGIA
REGIA
Basilica Opimia
T. CONCORDIAE
Arcus Severi
Rostra
Granco-stasis
Lapis niger
Senaculum
Volcanal
ROSTRA
Columna
Focae
Lacus Curtius
Marsyas
Tribunal praetorium
FORVM
T. DIVI IVLI
Arcus Augusti
T. VESTAE
ATRIVM VESTAE
TABVLARIVM
T. DIVI VESPASIANI
PORT. DEOR. CONSENTIVM
CLIVVS CAPITOLINVS
T. SATVRNI
Arcus Tiberi
Lacus Servilius
TABERNAE VETERES
BASILICA IVLIA
Basilica Sempronia
CLIVVS IVGARIVS
VICVS TVSCVS
T. CASTORVM
ad Vortumnum
Lacus Juturnae
NOVA VIA

of the property would not consider any smaller proposition. We are hoping besides to accomplish another large undertaking; namely we are building in the Campus Martius a covered voting hall [*saepta*] for the assembly of the tribes, made of marble, with a portico. It will be about a mile in circumference''.

This letter shows very clearly the two chief purposes of Cæsar's reforms: the transfer of the assembly of the tribes from the old Forum, which had grown too small for the purpose, to the Campus Martius, and the establishment of a better means of communication between the old Forum and the new place of assembly in the Campus Martius. As far as the price paid for the land is concerned, this can be compared with that which was paid almost at the same time for the site of Cæsar's own Forum: there the ground cost about one hundred million sesterces, that is to say about ten thousand sesterces (twenty–five hundred francs) a square yard. Under the same conditions in B. C. 54 Cæsar's friends could have bought about six thousand square yards, a site considerably larger than that of the Basilica Aemilia, even in the shape in which it has come down to us from the empire.

At the close of the Gallic wars, Cæsar pushed his building plans still more energetically with the aid of the wealth obtained as booty. It is amazing how in the course of a few years, even in the midst of the confusion of the civil wars, the enormous alterations were accomplished which gave to the region its general outline for all time to come. On the south side of the Forum arose the Basilica Julia; it was intended at least in large part to concentrate here the courts, which had been held hitherto in the Comitium, at the Tribunal of the prætor near the centre of the Forum (see below p. 146), or near the Puteal Libonis in the lower part of the Forum (see n. XXV). On the opposite side the old site of the Comitium

was largely given over to buildings, since it was no longer needed either for the law-courts or for the assemblies of the people. It was on this site that the new Curia arose, larger and more splendid than the Curia Hostilia and with a different orientation. The lines of this new Curia coincide with those of the churches S. Adriano and S. Martina. On account of this change all the old monuments, on the border between the Comitium and the Forum, especially the Rostra, had to be given a new location. Many of them disappeared entirely under the new layer of earth which Cæsar's builders heaped upon the old level, to prevent the Forum from being flooded. The Forum, thus splendidly restored, was connected with the Campus Martius by the porches surrounding the temple of Venus Genetrix, which Cæsar had built NW. of his new Curia, below the slope of the citadel, in honour of Venus, the ancestress of the Julian house. Under the name of the Forum Julium this arrangement was the prototype of all the imperial Fora.

Cæsar hastened the carrying out of these plans, and, as though he had a premonition that he would not live to see the buildings completed, he dedicated the Forum Julium and the Basilica Julia, before they were finished, on September 26th, B. C. 46, the last day of the celebration of the victory of Thapsus. Before eighteen months had passed, on March 15th, B. C. 44, Cæsar fell by the daggers of the conspirators in the Curia of Pompey (in the Campus Martius, not far from S. Andrea della Valle). The Forum was the scene of his magnificent funeral, and on the spot where his body was burned the *templum Divi Juli* was built a few years later.

The plans which had been begun by Cæsar were carried out by his successor, Octavianus Augustus. He completed the Basilica, dedicated the new Curia and

probably also the Rostra, and erected a temple on the east side of the Forum (see below n. XXIV), in honour of his adoptive father Julius, who had now been admitted to the ranks of the gods. Near this temple of Cæsar an arch was built in honour of Augustus, after he had regained the standards of battle which had been lost in the war with the Parthians (see n. XXV). Members of the nobility too interested themselves in the decoration of the Forum: Munatius Plancus restored the temple of Saturn (B. C. 42), Domitius Calvinus the Regia (B. C. 36), and members of the Gens Aemilia the Basilica which was named after their ancestor (see p. 124). Later Tiberius, the step-son and subsequently the successor of Augustus, rebuilt the temple of Concord and the temple of Castor (A. D. 10 and A. D. 6), and thus erected memorials in the Forum to himself and his brother Drusus. However, although the splendour of the Forum was increased by the buildings of the Augustan age, the beginning of its decline dates from the same epoch. The emperor himself built on the north side of the old Forum another one, the Forum Augustum with the temple of Mars Ultor; and this new Forum was destined to rival the old one in practical usefulness, and to destroy its hitherto unique position far more than the Forum Julium had done.

5. The Forum as a place of memorial monuments. The imperial Fora. The emperors of the first dynasty made no important changes in the general lines laid down by Cæsar and Augustus, but contented themselves with completing and beautifying individual details. The Forum was covered with monuments in honour of the emperors, their households, and deserving citizens. The assemblies of the people, which had sunk into absolute insignificance as early as the time of Ti-

berius, would in any case have found the Forum too small for them, for the actual open space was very much decreased by the building of the temple of Cæsar, and of the new Rostra, as well as by the enlargement of the old sanctuaries (Castor, Concordia, Saturn). The law-courts retired, in the main, into the Basilica Julia: and from the time of Augustus on we hear no more of games taking place in the Forum. The funeral ceremonies, however, for members of the imperial family continued to be held here, and the emperors conducted certain important state functions preferably in the Forum, because of its countless monuments which recalled the greatness of Rome (see p. 76 f.). In the reign of Tiberius the arch of Augustus in the lower part of the Forum was matched by one in the upper part near the Rostra, where an arch was erected in remembrance of the victories of Germanicus in Germany (see p. 68). Also in the time of Tiberius the temple of Augustus was built at the foot of the Palatine; this temple served later for the worship of the other deified emperors (see No. XXX). The madly fantastic constructions of Caligula – the extension of the Palatium up to the temple of Castor, and the bridge which crossed the Forum from Palatine to Capitoline – were of short duration, though possibly some remains of the foundations laid in the enlargement of the Palatine have been preserved. The great fire in Nero's reign (July 19th, A. D. 64), which caused such damage to the Palatine and the Sacra Via, scarcely reached the Forum, although the buildings on the east side, the temple of Vesta, the house of the Vestals, and the Regia, were more or less injured.

The Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, found abundant room for their building activity in the regions which had been laid waste by the fire. On the north side of the Sacra Via, in the direction of

the Esquiline, Vespasian built the splendid temple of Peace (*templum Pacis*), which contained among other things the booty from the temple at Jerusalem. The porticos around this temple formed an imposing square which in point of size and magnificence was worthy of comparison with the three old Fora and later was sometimes called *Forum Pacis*. On the wall of one of the buildings connected with the temple of Peace Vespasian placed a marble plan of the city as restored by him (see p. 22). Titus commenced the temple for his deified father, Vespasian, on the Clivus Capitolinus, but was not able to finish it in his own short reign (see p. 91); even the honourary arch, which the Senate and the people had decreed to him on account of his conquest of Jerusalem, was not finished until after his death (see No. XLIII). Domitian, who had an especial passion for building, completed the temple of Vespasian, restored the Curia, the temple of Castor, and the *templum Divi Augusti* together with the library; and was himself honored by the erection, in the midst of the Forum, of a colossal equestrian statue, celebrating his victories over the Germans. Finally the construction of a new Forum, the fourth, the so-called *Forum Transitorium*, on the narrow strip of land which lay between the Forum of Augustus and the temple of Peace, was begun by Domitian, but completed by his successor, Nerva.

Cæsar's plan of connecting the old Forum with the Campus Martius was carried out in magnificent fashion by Trajan, who built a new Forum, adjoining the Forum of Cæsar and the Forum of Augustus, and surpassing all the earlier Fora both in extent and in splendour (A. D. 113). The very site itself had to be obtained by a vast piece of engineering: the most southern point of the Quirinal hill, which had hitherto extended very close to the Capitoline, was excavated by working

in from the plain until so much of the shoulder had been cut off that the height of the side thus laid bare was one hundred Roman feet (approximately 97 English feet). In the old Forum the chief memorials of Trajan are the beautiful marble balustrades decorated with bas-reliefs, which he probably placed upon the Rostra in

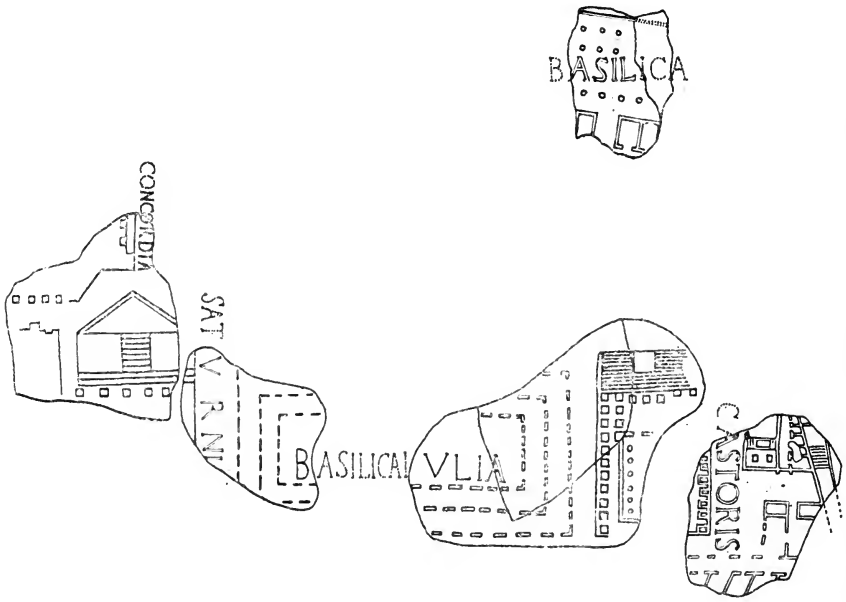


Fig. 5. Fragments of the Forma Urbis.

connection with his restoration of it (see p. 104). These reliefs tell the story of two magnificent acts of imperial favour for Italy and the provinces, which the emperor had just announced in the Forum. Hadrian erected according to his own plans the double temple of Venus and Roma (see No. XLII). Near the east end of the Forum, at the beginning of the Sacra Via, Antoninus Pius built a temple for his wife Faustina, which after his own death (A. D. 161) was dedicated to him as well. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus did not leave any note-

worthy monuments in the Forum. Septimius Severus on the contrary is well represented, because, being the first African on the imperial throne of Rome, he seems to have made an especial effort to counteract this foreign origin by filling the old historic points in Rome with monuments of his own name. Severus restored the temple of Vespasian and the temple of Peace, where he caused to be erected a new copy of the marble plan of the city. Fragments of this marble plan have been preserved to us, and those that have to do with the Forum are represented in fig. 5. Severus's wife, Julia Domna, restored the temple of Vesta and the house of the Vestals; and the Regia seems to have been restored about the same time. What was however of the greatest importance for the general appearance of the Forum was that, on the west side, at the beginning of the Clivus Capitolinus, an arch was erected in honour of Severus, which almost entirely hid the façade of the temple of Concord. In the period of the decline of Rome, in the third century, it is characteristic that we hear of scarcely any important monument in the Forum, with the exception of the 'silver statue' of Claudius Gothicus on the Rostra. The seventy years between the death of Caracalla and the beginning of the reign of Diocletian, with their continual tumults and violent changes of ruler, have left no monumental traces in the Forum; but in the retired cloistered house of the Vestals a number of inscriptions in honour of the presiding Vestals in this period have been found.

6. The Forum of the late Empire. Destruction and ruin. In the reign of the emperor Carinus (283–284) a great fire raged in the Forum, which gave abundant opportunity to Diocletian and his fellow-rulers to indulge in extensive building operations.

The Curia was rebuilt, on the old foundation to be sure, but in the style of the day; and in front of the Basilica Julia, which had also been damaged, colossal columns were erected on great foundations of brick. On the Sacra Via Maxentius dedicated a temple to his son Romulus, who had died in boyhood; and he also began the construction of a Basilica which should far surpass all earlier buildings of the sort. In the space in front of the Curia, the last remnant of the old Comitium, the emperors and those appointed as their successors received, in the year 303, honorary columns, the base of at least one of which has been preserved (see below p. 97 f.). In the same region Maxentius constructed a group of Mars with Romulus and Remus; and possibly in this connection he restored the old 'Grave of Romulus'.

Maxentius was defeated and killed in the battle of Saxa Rubra (313): his vanquisher, Constantine, completed the great Basilica, which has ever since borne his name, and received in the midst of the Forum an equestrian statue, of which the base with the inscription was still in existence in the seventh century. The transfer of the imperial residence to Byzantium (330) marks for the whole of Rome the beginning of an irresistible decline. In the following decades the conflict between the old Paganism and the new Christian faith became constantly more bitter, and at various crises some of the most important scenes were enacted in the Forum and in the Curia. In the year 346 the emperor Constantius issued an edict which commanded the cessation of offerings and the shutting of all pagan temples. To be sure the shutting of these temples was not equivalent to the destruction of them; for in many cases the temples were preserved for practical purposes, as public buildings, store-houses etc.; so for example the temple of Saturn, in whose cellars the state-treasure was kept (see p. 80).

A memorial of the reaction which set in under Julian the Apostate for a very short time, is to be found in the restoration of the Portico of the Twelve Gods (see below p. 90), which was carried out by the Prefect of the City Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (A. D. 367). The reign of Gratianus (373–383) marks the final victory of Christianity, when in spite of the eloquent pleadings of the aristocratic pagan party the altar of Victoria with her golden statue was removed from the Curia.

The powerful Theodosius (379–395) was able to defend Italy and Rome against the barbarians of the north; but at his death the empire was divided between his sons Arcadius (the East) and Honorius (the West), and hostile forces poured into the peninsular from all sides. To be sure the emperor managed to put down the rebellion of Gildo in Africa (386–398), but even that was accomplished only by the aid of his great general Stilicho, who was himself of northern extraction. It was Stilicho again who in 403 beat back Radagaisus and his hordes at Faesulae. Remains of the monuments which celebrated both these victories are found in the Forum (see below p. 98 f.). But the great protector of the state fell a victim to the suspicions of the emperor, and two years after Stilicho's death Rome was captured by Alaric and his Goths (A. D. 410). In connection with the plundering of the city, the flames destroyed many monumental buildings in the Forum: the Curia and the adjoining *Secretarium*, the Basilica Aemilia, and probably also the Basilica Julia. The hasty and wretched restorations which were carried out in the following decade bear witness to the decline both in artistic taste and in technical ability which characterized the age of Honorius. In the year 442 Rome was 'visited by such a terrible earthquake that many temples and porticos collapsed' (Paulus Diac. *Hist. Lang.* XIII, 16); in all probability

the Forum was also affected. In the year 455 Rome suffered terribly at the hands of the Vandals under Geiseric; and it seems almost like irony when a few years later (about 470) a prefect of the city celebrates a naval victory over the Vandals by erecting a wretched little structure adjoining the Rostra (see p. 78). This is the last monument of the western empire in the Forum; twenty-one years after the incursion of Geiseric, the lad Romulus, who had been crowned by his father, the *magister militum* Orestes, laid his crown in the hands of Odoacer the Herulian, and Rome lost her last Augustus (476).

II. The Forum in the Middle Ages.

Seven years later, in the place of Odoacer, the Ostrogoth Theodoric (493–526) made himself ruler of Rome

Fig. 6. Brickstamp of Theodoric, found in the temple of Vesta.

and Italy. The inscriptions on his bricks, of which a considerable number have been found in the Forum, usually have in addition to his name the phrase 'born for the good of Rome' (*bono Romae*). And it is a fact that under his rule a better time dawned for Rome after the dreadful catastrophes of the fifth century. He spared what was left of the old Roman state; the Curia once more beheld the assembly of the senators, though to be sure only a part of them were of Roman blood, and the

majority of them were followers of the king. It is especially characteristic that Theodoric loved to call the old Curia the 'Court of Freedom' (*Atrium Libertatis*). The Comitium had its old name no longer, but was called *ad Tria Fata* on account of a group of the 'Three Fates' which stood there. Near this *Tria Fata* there still stood the little old temple of Janus, closed, not because there was peace, but because it belonged to the old pagan superstition; it was opened for the last time in remembrance of the ancient custom in A. D. 537, when Belisarius was defending Rome. The Forum probably still retained most of its ancient monuments, and when any of them came into danger of falling, there was no lack of good will on the part of Theodoric and his successors, in protecting it from distruction. What probably often happened in such cases, is shown by a document accidentally preserved to us: a reply of King Theodahad (535-536) to the Prefect of the City, Honorius, who had reported to the king that on the Sacra Via, 'which antiquity had adorned with many monuments of its superstition', the bronze statues of elephants (probably taken from the group on top of some arch of triumph) had grown so dilapidated that they threatened to collapse. The decision of Theodahad was that these remarkable monuments should be protected with all possible care from further injury, and that accordingly the cracked limbs of the elephants (concerning whose natural history the private secretary of the king, Cassiodorus [*Var.* X, 30] exhibits in this connection a most quaint and curious learning) should be joined together with iron rivets, and supporting pillars of brick should be built up under the bodies, so that posterity might know how these curious animals had looked.

In the dark centuries which followed, whatever of the ancient monuments was not destroyed owes its sal-

vation in great part to a metamorphosis into Christian churches. Ever since the edicts of Constantius (346) and of Gratianus (383) the temples in the Forum had been shut; but a long time must needs pass before the Christians could bring themselves to use for their Christian worship the temples which had been desecrated by the worship of idols. In the Forum itself the first church was dedicated by Pope Felix IV. (526–530) in honour of Saint Cosmas and Saint Damianus: the nave of this church had been one of the halls on the Forum Pacis, probably one of the libraries of the temple of Peace, and the little round Heroon of Divus Romulus formed the vestibule. Somewhat later, probably about the middle of the sixth century, a little chapel of the Virgin nestled itself into the library of the temple of Augustus, and behind the Rostra was erected an Oratory of Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus.

The end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century mark for Rome a period of the very deepest decline, and here the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great is most instructive. Rome was indeed in a sad plight, when a pope greeted the accession to the throne of a usurper like Phocas with such flattery as Pope Gregory employs (see below p. 97). The column of Phocas, constructed out of one or more old monuments, is the last memorial of an eastern emperor on the soil of the Forum (A. D. 608). About two decades later the Curia was consecrated as the church of Saint Hadrian, and the Secretarium as the church of Saint Martina. In place of the small Oratory in the library of the temple of Augustus, a stately church arose, which under Pope Martin I. (649–654) was old enough to receive its second decoration of frescoes. In the Atrium Vestae and in the deserted palaces of the emperors (*domus Tiberiana*) the officials of the Byzan-

tine rulers or of the popes made themselves at home, and the same fate, probably before the eighth century, fell to the lot of the Regia and the Basilica Aemilia. In the western aisle of the Basilica Julia the small church of S. Maria in Cannapara was built. The Oratory of Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus at the forth of the Capitol gave place, under Gregory III., to a stately Basilica.

The last mention of the assembling of the people in the Forum occurs in the stormy times which followed the death of Pope Paul I. The Primicerius Christophorus called together *in tribus fatis*, that is in front of the church of S. Adriano (see above p. 27), 'the priesthood, the noble warriors, the influential citizens, and all the inhabitants from the greatest to the least', and caused the Presbyter Stephanus to be made Pope (August 1st, 768).

About this same time there was wandering in the Forum that unknown pilgrim from the Cloister of Reichenau on Lake Constance, who has left us the oldest guide-book to the Eternal City (it is generally called the *Anonymus Einsidlensis*, after Einsiedeln, where the only extant manuscript is preserved). He saw the façade of the temple of Vespasian, and that of the temple of Concord, still standing; he saw also, near the Curia, a great monument, possibly a triumphal arch for the wars of Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomani; in the midst of the Forum was still standing the base of the equestrian statue of Constantine with the inscription: the statue itself, like all works of art made of metal, had probably long ago disappeared. From the description of his journey, and better yet from the plan which can be constructed according to it (see fig. 7), it is clearly seen that at that time the arch of Severus was still the central point of traffic; there the roads from Saint Peter's

to the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore crossed those which led from the Pincian and the Quirinal to the southern districts of the city.

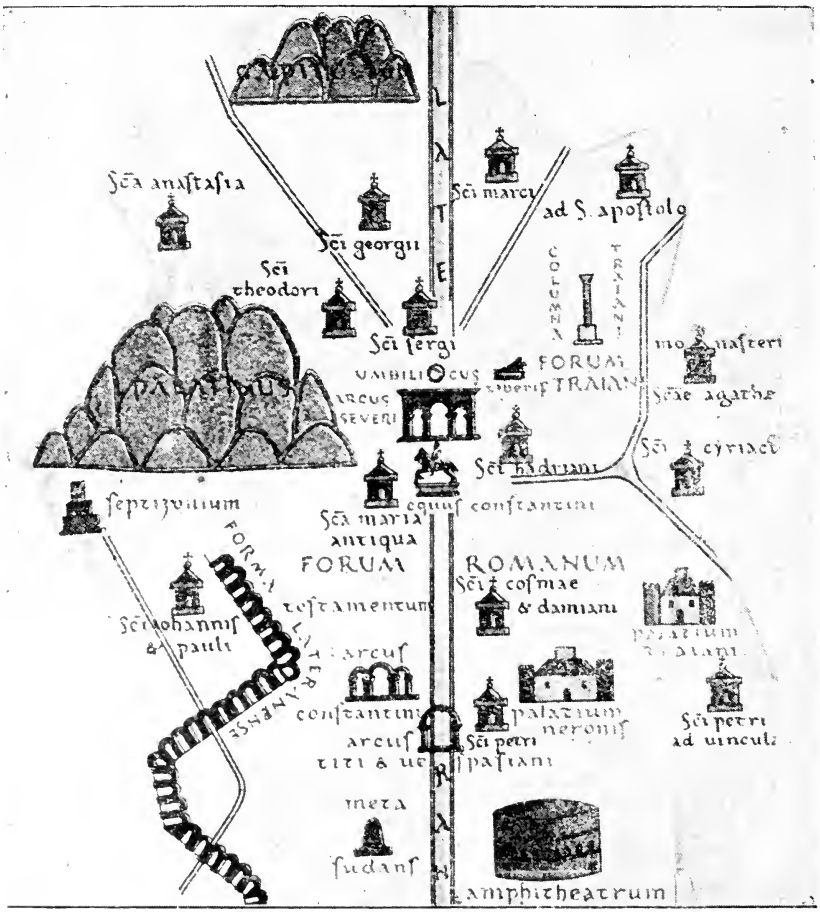


Fig. 7. The Forum in the plan of the Anonymus Einsidlensis.

Soon after the time of Charlemagne the destruction of the old buildings seems to have made very rapid progress, partly because of neglect, partly because of intentional injury. An example of the latter is given us in a passage from the biography of Pope Hadrian I.

(772–795). This pope wished to restore the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, but ' a great monument of travertine and tufa ' (the Carceres of the Circus Maximus?) was threatening it from above. Thereupon ' the pope

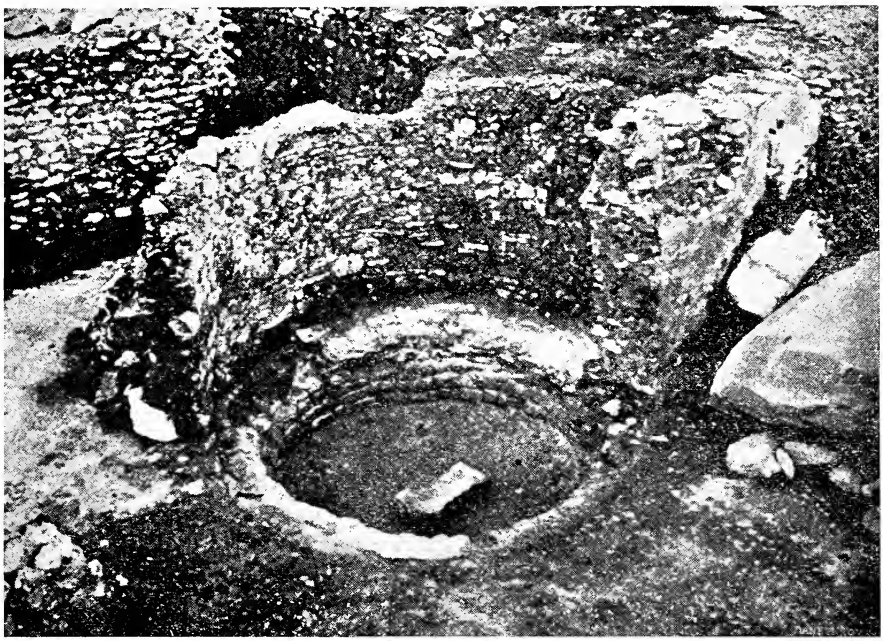


Fig. 8. Lime-kiln at the corner of the temple of Venus and Rome, beside the arch of Titus.

called the people to his help and ordered them to bring a quantity of wood to the foot of the wall and there set it on fire, and when this had been repeated often for the space of a year, the old wall fell in ', and its stones were then used for building the new church. Probably similar things occurred to many monuments in the Forum, but the scanty chronicles of the ninth to the eleventh centuries do not permit us to follow the history of this destruction in detail. The lime-kilns, which have been

found in the Basilica Aemilia, near the temple of Vesta, and in the temple of Venus and Rome (see fig. 8) doubtless destroyed many treasures of great artistic and historical value. In the case however of the Basilica of S. Maria Antiqua, which has recently been excavated, the building itself tells its own story clearly enough. About the middle of the ninth century those portions of the imperial palaces which lay above the church must have reached such a state of ruin that they were a distinct peril to the church. Thereupon Pope Leo IV. determined to give up the old church entirely and in its place to build another in the vestibule of the temple of Venus and Roma. This new church received the name of S. Maria Nova. The capture of Rome by Robert Guiscard (May 1084) caused damage especially to the southern parts of the city, and probably the Forum suffered too.

In the first half of the twelfth century we have an important document in the rules for processions which the Canon Benedict included in his *Liber Polipticus* completed not long before 1143. A study of the itineraries given there shows clearly that about 1130 the centre of the Forum was entirely impassible. The collapse of the Basilicas must have caused insuperable barriers to traffic; and near the old temple of Faustina, which had probably been changed more than a century before into the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, the fortifications of Roman barons, the Frangipani and others, blocked the passage. In order to reach the arch of Titus from the arch of Severus the processions were compelled to make a long detour, through the Forums of Nerva, of Augustus, and of Vespasian. In the Forum itself, however, high above the ruins of the splendid structures of ancient times, a few wretched houses stood, built of bricks, and with shingle roofs, surrounded by gardens and vineyards. Many of these houses belonged to S. Ma-

ria Nova, in whose archives details have been preserved concerning rent and sale, and the names of tenants and owners; but unfortunately most of these details are devoid of general interest.

About this same time, a Roman cleric — possibly the same Canon Benedict of Saint Peter's — undertook to describe and explain to his contemporaries the wonders of ancient Rome. It was the time in which the citizens of Rome were peculiarly anxious for independence and freedom from the supremacy of the pope, and thus those conflicts were the order of the day, which filled up the pontificate of Gelasius II. (1118-1119) and of Innocent II. (1130-1143). It was precisely at such a time that the citizens of Rome were aroused to a new interest in those silent witnesses of Rome's greatness, which were older than the gifts of Pipin and Constantine, upon which the papacy based its claims. But what sources had the Roman archaeologist at his command? His chief authorities were a few early mediaeval chronicles, the description of the regions from the time of Constantine, Ovid's *Martyrologium de fastis*; but the largest part had to be supplied by his own imagination. Thus there came into existence that curious book, the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, upon which for three centuries and more all ideas about the topography of ancient Rome were based. The Forum is described in the *Mirabilia* (Ch. 24) as follows:

« In front of the *privata Mamertini* [the Carcer] was the temple of Mars, where his statue now lies [the ' Marforio ', at present in the courtyard of the Capitoline Museum]; near by was the temple of Fate (*templum fatale*), which is now S. Martina, and the temple of refuge (*templum refugii*), which is now S. Adriano. In the neighbourhood was still another temple of Fate [apparently a confused recollection of the *Tria Fata*, see above p. 26]. Near the state prison was the temple of the Fabii, Behind S. Sergius

was the temple of Concord, in front the triumphal arch [o Severus], through which the road leads to the Capitol. Nearby was the State Treasury, namely the temple of Saturn. On the other side was an arch made of very beautiful marble, on which was the story how the soldiers received their pay from the pay-master, who had charge of this and weighed all in the scales (*statera*) before it was paid out to the soldiers: for this reason the place is called S. Salvator de statera. In the Cannapara [Basilica Julia] is the temple of Ceres and Tellus, with two *atria*, that is to say halls, adorned round about with porticos and columns, so that whoever held court there could be seen on all sides. Nearby was the palace of Catiline, where the church of S. Antony was, and near there is the place which is called *Infernus*, because it gave forth fire in ancient times and caused great damage to Rome. Thereupon, in order to save the city, according to the word of the gods, a knight in full armour hurled himself into the pit; then the earth closed in and the city was saved. There is also the temple of Vesta, beneath which, so the saying is, lies a dragon, as may be read in the life of Saint Silvester. There also is the temple of Pallas, and the Forum of Caesar, and the temple of Janus, who foresees the year, both its beginning and its end, as Ovid in the *Fasti* says: but now it is called the tower of Cencio Frajapane. Adjoining this is the temple of Minerva, with an arch; this is now called S. Laurentius de Miranda. Nearby is the church of S. Cosmas, which was the temple of the Asylum; behind it was the temple of Peace and of Latona, and beyond that the temple of Romulus. Behind S. Maria Nova were two temples, one of Concord, the other of Piety. Near the arch of the seven-branched candlestick was a temple of Aesculapius: this was called *Cartularium*, because there was a public library there, of which there were twenty-eight in the city ».

This sample shows what a curious mixture of true and false this wonder-book contains, and how statements which are entirely correct and based upon a real knowledge of the monuments are combined with false conjectures and pieces of pure imagination. But the assurance with which the author gave his explanations, and

the completeness with which he knew how to explain all the remains of Roman grandeur, gave him great authority in subsequent time. The destruction of the monuments themselves and the gradual filling up of the area of the Forum were in the meantime continuing. It is worth noting that in the twelfth century the church of S. Adriano had to be raised a half story higher in order that its level might correspond to that of the land around it. Many other churches of the early middle ages fell into ruins and disappeared, especially at the time of the exile of the popes at Avignon, when Rome sank once again into the depths. In the Forum itself the cattle of the Campagna were pastured and the name Forum Romanum was changed to Campo Vaccino. At the beginning of the XIV. century Cola di Rienzo wandered among the ruins of the Forum. " The whole day long ", says his contemporary biographer, " he contemplated the old blocks of marble. There was no one who could read the old epitaphs as he could. He understood how to read all the old inscriptions and to explain rightly all the marble figures ". Cola's collection of inscriptions, which is known to us chiefly in a book entitled *De excellentiis urbis Romae*, written about 1425 by Nicolaus Signorili, the secretary of the Roman senate, contains none of the ancient monuments which the pilgrim of Einsiedeln had seen, except the arch of Severus, the temple of Saturn, and the temple of Faustina.

With the return to Rome of Pope Urban V. (1367) a brighter time began for the city, although to be sure the increased interest in building led to the destruction of ancient monuments in a way which is to be regretted. For the palace of the Lateran Urban V. took his material from the Basilica Aemilia and the temple of Faustina. Sixty years later Giovanni Poggio in his book *De varie-*

tate fortunae laments that a great part of ehe walls o the cella of the Saturn temple, which had be tn standing when he arrived in Rome in 1402, had now beent destroyed by avarice and burned to make lime. But far more important was the fact that there arose at this time a really scientific interest in the remains of ancient Rome, as a part of that humanism which in a relatively short time had gained a knowledge of the ancient literature and the ancient historians. Scarcely twenty years after the publication of Signorili's little book, which is entirely under the influence of the Mirabilia, Flavius Blondus published his *Roma Instaurata*, the first topography of Rome which was based upon the systematic use of ancient writings, and which broke away entirely from the fairy-stories of the middle ages, and substituted for them independent views, even though in the nature of things many of these views were mistaken.

III. The Exploration of the Forum since the Renaissance.

We may gain an idea of the appearance of the Forum about the end of the fifteenth century by the aid of the accompanying leaf taken from a Florentine painter's sketchbook preserved in the library of the Escorial (see fig. 9). The sketch was made from a point on the slope in front of the Palace of the Senator, and though the artist has taken the liberty of leaving out most of the buildings which were not ancient, especially the church of Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus, which lay in the foreground between the arch of Severus and the temple of Saturn, he has however reproduced the mediæval fortification in front of the temple of Faustina. Through the central arch of the 'arco di Settimio' can be seen indicated by a few strokes a building with Doric columns; this is the

western corner of the Basilica Aemilia, which was demolished at the beginning of the sixteenth century (see below p. 129).

The Forum served as a marble quarry for modern buildings, especially in the days of Julius II. and Leo X., and among those who destroyed the ancient buildings

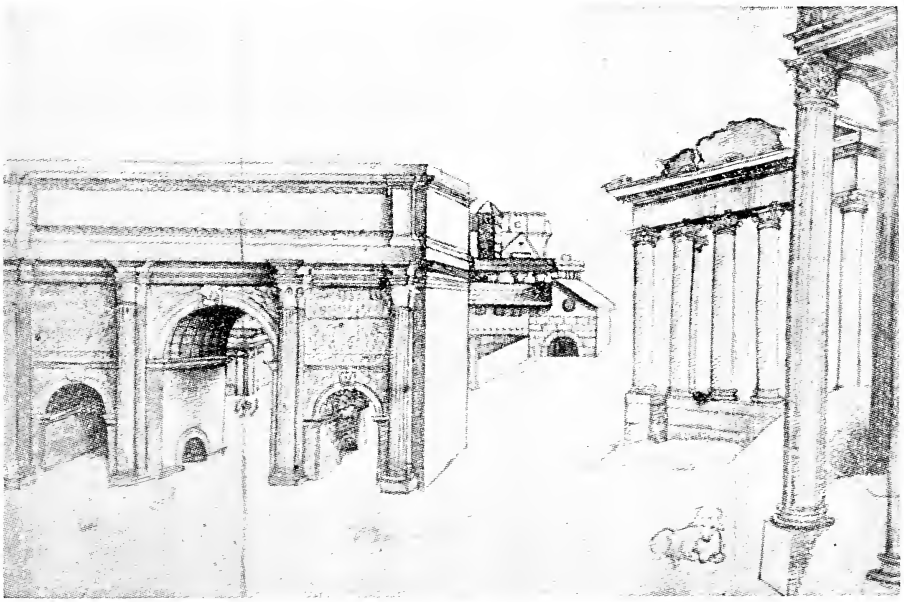


Fig. 9. The Forum about the year 1490.

artists of the very first rank are mentioned, even Bramante himself (see p. 128). To be sure Baldassarre Castiglione has preserved to us the famous letter written by Raphael to Pope Leo X., in which he urged that the monuments of ancient Rome should be preserved and reconstructed, either in actuality or at least in drawings, but this praiseworthy attitude of one individual was powerless in the face of the general abuses of the time. In addition to the remains of the Basilica Aemilia, large

parts of the Basilica Julia fell at the hands of the destroyers, and in the early decades of the sixteenth century the temple of Vesta and the house of the Vestals, the temple of Saturn and that of Vespasian, all were compelled to surrender their marble and their travertine for new buildings. At most a few inscriptions and sculptures –

Fig. 10. The Forum in the year 1536, seen from the Palatine.

although as regards sculpture the Forum has never yielded very much – were copied and preserved; for example the eight bases for honourary statues of the Vestal virgins, which were excavated in 1497 in front of Ss. Cosma e Damiano, and the base which was found about 1509 near S. Adriano, and which celebrated the jubilee of the reign of Diocletian and his fellow-emperors (see p. 96).

The pontificate of Paul III. (1534–1550) marked an epoch in the history of the Forum. In 1536, when the

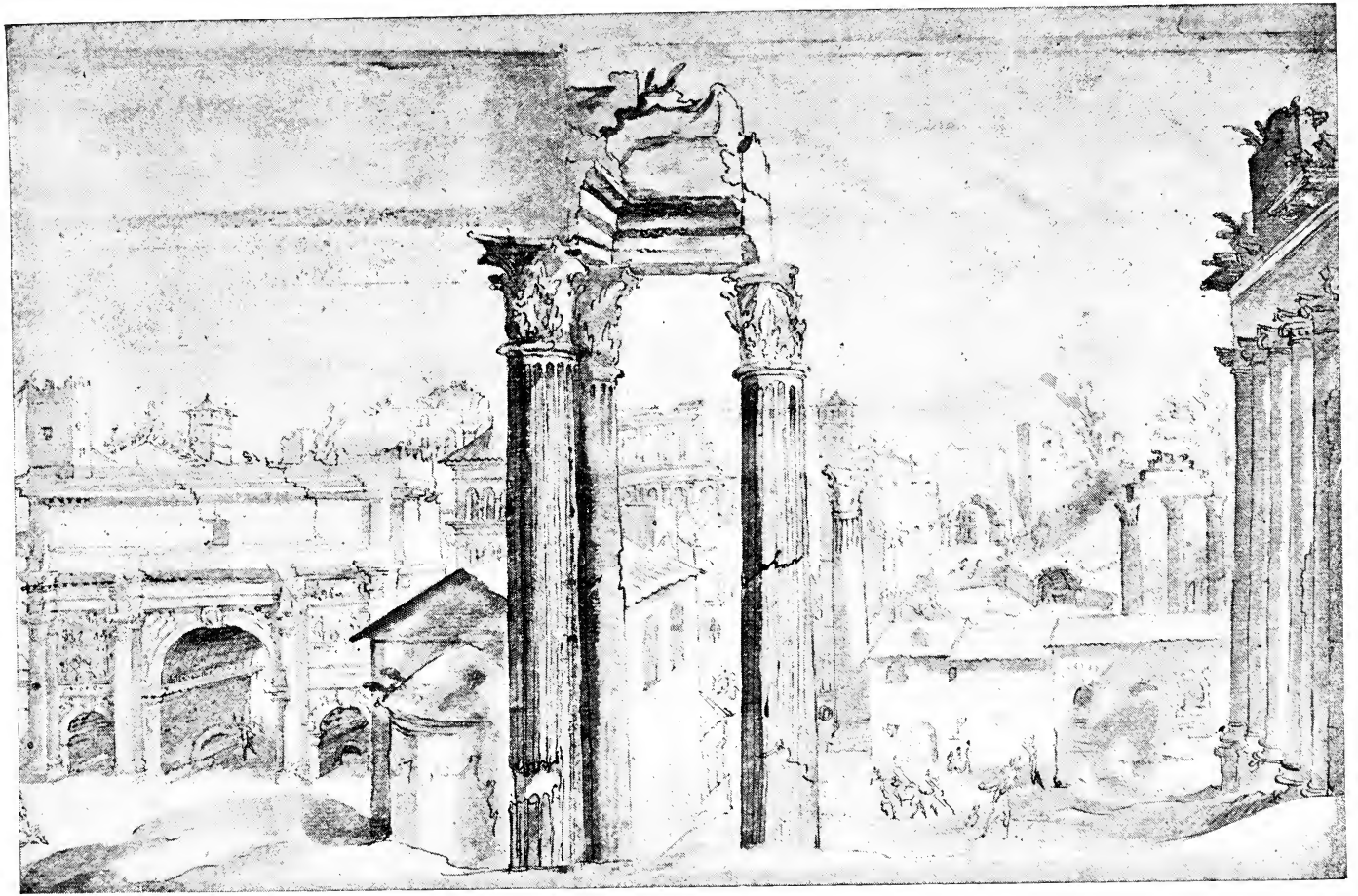


Fig. 11. The Forum in the year 1536, seen from the Capitoline (in front, the church of Ss. Sergio e Bacco).

emperor Charles V. entered Rome after his victorious attack upon Tunis, the pope decorated in his honour a triumphal way, leading through all the triumphal arches which were in the Forum and on the Sacra Via. From the arch of Titus to the arch of Severus a straight road was made, the towers of the barons of the middle ages in front of S. Lorenzo were destroyed, the whole surface of the Forum was levelled and filled in by masses of rubbish. Rabelais says that "two hundred houses and two churches" were destroyed in the making of this road, but that refers not to the Forum alone, but to the whole extent of the road as far as the Ponte S. Angelo. A graphic idea of how the Forum looked at this time can be obtained from the drawings of the Dutch painter Marten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) who seems to have been himself employed in the making of the triumphal way (fig. 10 and 11).

At this time the remains of the Forum suffered grievously at the hands of Paul III., who was making great progress in the building of St. Peter's, and at the hands of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who was building his splendid palace near the Campo di Fiori. Perhaps the decade 1540–1550 did more damage to the ancient monuments of Rome than the preceding two centuries. The search for building material went on everywhere – at the temple of Saturn, at the temple of Vespasian, at the arch of Severus and in front of S. Adriano, in the Basilica Aemilia, and at the temple of Castor, on the site of the temple of Cæsar and of the Regia, on the Sacra Via from the arch of the Fabii to that of Titus; the thing was carried to such an extent that the voices of contemporaries were raised against these *cose molto orrende*. A few notable finds, especially inscriptions and beautiful architectural bits, were employed in the decoration of the gardens and the courts of the palaces; the

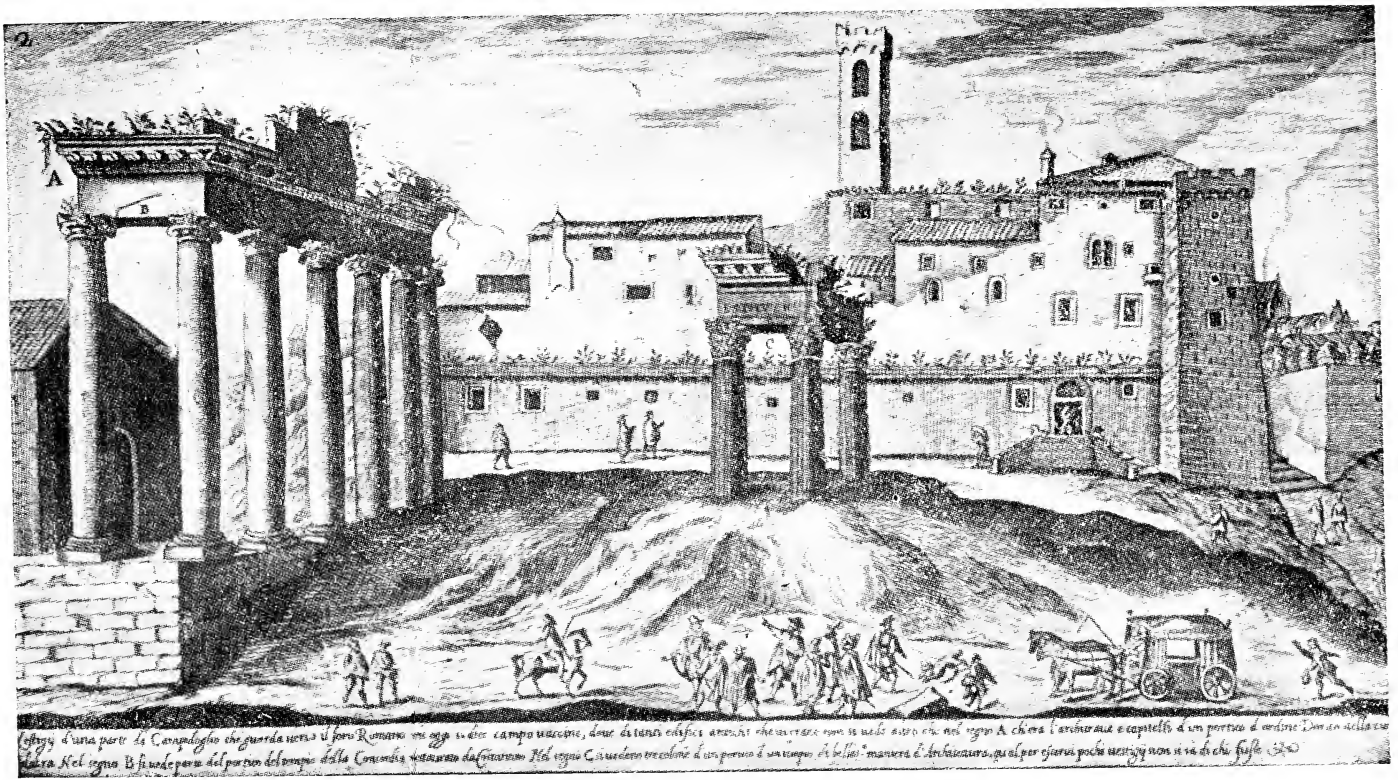


Fig. 12. The Forum in the year 1575.

Fasti, or official lists of consuls and of triumphs, which were excavated in 1546 near the Regia, were honoured by being placed on the Capitoline in the palace of the Conservatori, but this was exceptional, while by far the largest part of all the marble, travertine, and other stone, which was found, served as material for modern buildings, or – worse yet – was thrown into the lime–kiln. Truly scientific interest in excavations was at this time almost an unknown quantity; for example, in 1553, in connection with an excavation near the column of Phocas, the bas–relief representing Curtius (see p. 145) was brought to light, and at the same time it was noticed that the base of this solitary column, about which antiquarians had made so many guesses, bore an inscription, and traces of the top line could be seen, but no one took the trouble to dig a few feet deeper and discover the secret of the column. Instead, scholars continued in their uncertainty as to what it was, calling it sometimes the Columna Maenia, sometimes the remains of the bridge built by Caligula.

In the Forum with its covering of rubbish the hypotheses of antiquarians and topographers grew thick and fast. Curiously enough the scholars of the fifteenth century, Blondus and his successors, had had in general a tolerably correct idea about the site of the Forum, for they placed it "between the two triumphal arches" (Severus and Titus); for example the representation which the worthy Bartolomeo Marliani (1544) gives of the Forum and its monuments deserves praise as a piece of detailed and critical work, considering its time. But now suddenly in the middle of the sixteenth century there comes a new theory, that of the Neapolitan Pirro Ligorio. This man was an architect by profession — the Villa d'Este at Tivoli in his work — but his hobby was the investigation of antiquity, where as an ambitious dilet-

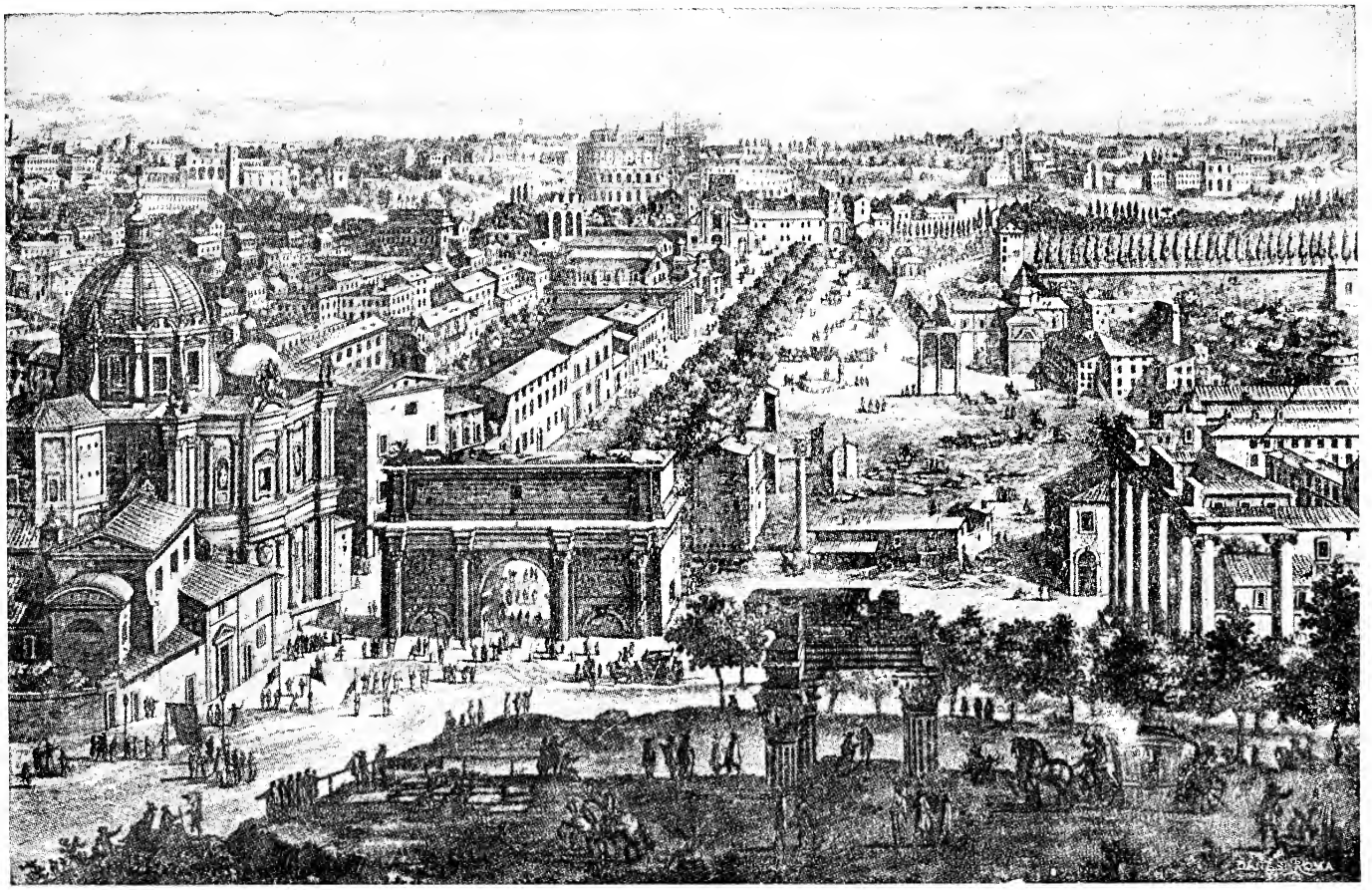


Fig. 13. The Forum in the year 1650, seen from the Capitoline.

tante he had the habit of filling in the great blanks in his own knowledge by most impudent forgeries. His theory was as follows: the Comitium, that is the place where Romulus and Titus Tatius became reconciled after the rape of the Sabine women, lay, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, between the Capitoline and the Palatine; accordingly both Comitium and Forum must be sought for in that valley where now the hospital and the church of the 'Consolazione' lie; the great ruins, however, the temples and the single columns between the two triumphal arches, belonged to the Sacra Via. Herewith began the bitter war of pens, and a passage from Marliani's polemic against Ligorio (*Topographiae Urbis haec nuper adjecta*, Rome 1553) shows with what persistence the varying opinions were defended: "What I teach about the Forum", says Marliani, "is the absolute truth, and if Father Romulus should rise again and say to me that he had founded his Forum anywhere else, I would reply to him 'Romulus, thou hast but shortly gone through the stream of Lethe, and thou hast therefore forgotten the position of thine own city so entirely that thou dost gossip the same nonsense as this Strepsiades' (Ligorio)". In spite of this enviable certainty about his contention, Marliani and the really correct views which he was defending got the worst of it in the time which followed, and Ligorio's theory won the day, asserted, at it was, with equally great surety and supported in addition by a large number of monuments and inscriptions which Ligorio fabricated for his purpose. An engraving by Etienne Dupérac, which is herewith reproduced (fig. 12, and compare also fig. 57), gives an idea of the appearance of the Forum in 1575: the temple of Saturn was buried in rubbish up to the bases of the columns, and the temple of Vespasian half-way up the columns themselves. The mound of rubbish sloped up

Fig. 14. The Forum in the year 1650, seen from the arch of Titus.

to the lower story of the columns in the Tabularium, and the only arcade which was preserved in its entirety served as a door of entrance to the Palace of the Senator.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries excavations in the Forum ceased almost entirely. The soil was considered exhausted, and in fact it would have been necessary to dig very deep in order to bring out blocks of marble and other useful material. Across the Forum lengthwise from the arch of Titus to the arch of Severus stretched a perfectly straight avenue of elms, which can be seen already grown to a considerable size in the pictures made by Livinus Cruyl about 1650 (fig. 14–15). Near the three columns of the temple of Castor there stood, since 1565, a large basin of granite which served as a watering trough for the cattle (since 1817 it has been used as a fountain in the Piazza di Monte Cavallo: see below fig. 138). On the level of the Campo Vaccino there were a few solitary houses, work–sheds of stone–cutters, etc. The investigation of the Forum was still, however, entirely under the spell of Ligorio's theory, especially since Alessandro Donati (1638) and Famiano Nardini (1660) had given it additional support by various arguments of specious learning. In the "Italian Journey" of Goethe the name of the Forum does not occur at all. As the poet in April 1787 was bidding farewell to Rome, he took a moonlight stroll, as he tells us, "through the loneliness of the Sacra Via from the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus to the Colosseum", and when in February 1787 he beheld from the Palace of the Senator, "in the brilliance of the afternoon sunlight, the great picture which extended on the left from the arch of Septimius Severus through the Campo Vaccino to the temple of Peace", he had no idea what an historical site was concealed under the debris.

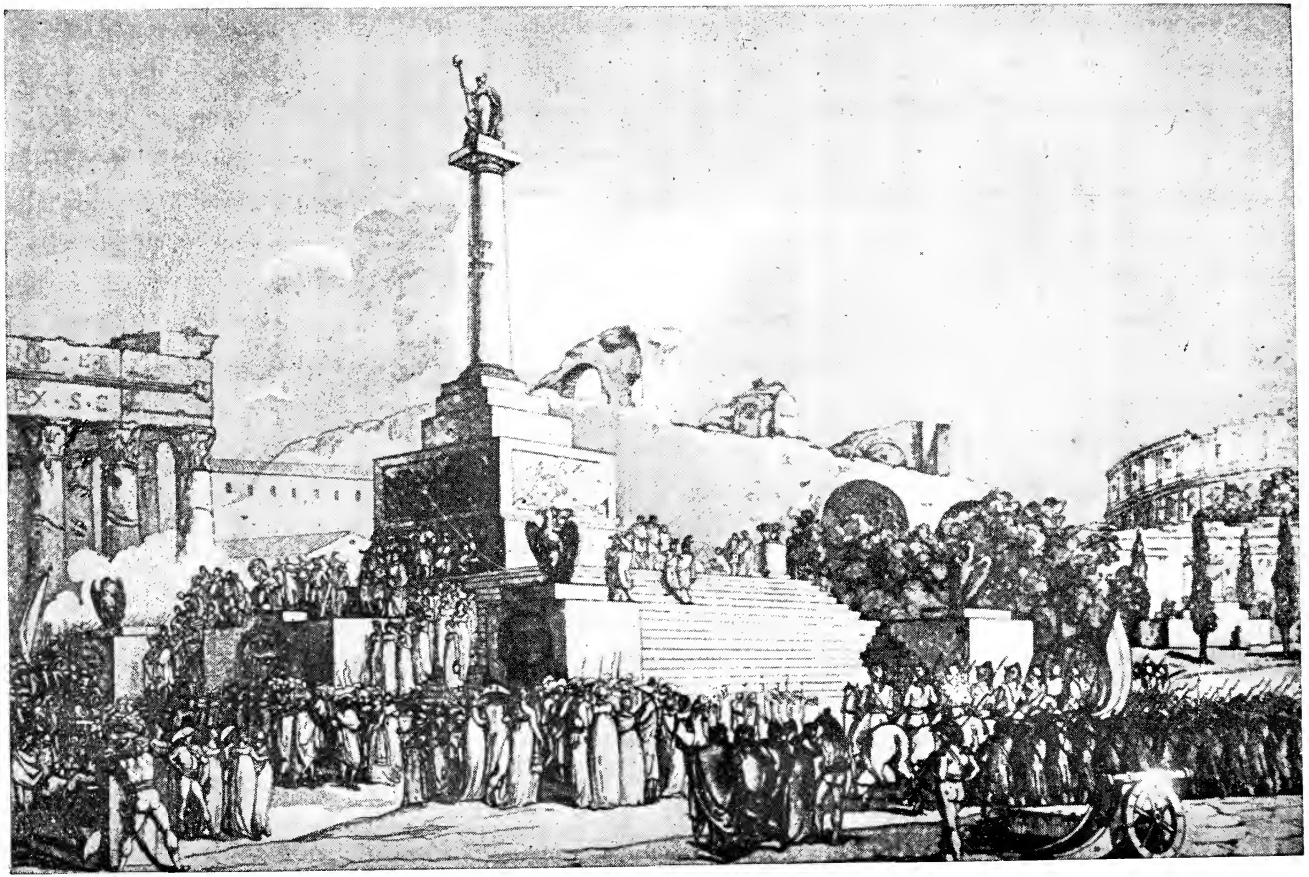


Fig. 15. Republican festival in the Forum.
« Alla perpetuità della Repubblica - 27 Piovoso anno VII republicano » (= February 15th 1799).

A new epoch in the investigation of the Forum began at the end of the eighteenth century in connection with the revival of the whole science of antiquity through the influence of Winckelmann. The first excavation for scientific purposes was undertaken in 1788 by the Swedish ambassador to Rome, C. F. v. Fredenheim. He laid bare a part of the Basilica Julia, but being completely under the influence of Nardini's theories he considered it a part of the portico which separated the Forum from the Sacra Via. A systematic continuation of these excavations in the following decade was hindered by the tremendous political disturbances, but several festivals in honour of the "Roman Republic" were celebrated on the Campo Vaccino, one of which has been immortalized in a contemporary engraving (fig. 15). With the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the false theories which had existed so long gave place to more correct views about the topography of the Forum. This change was largely due to the activity of Carlo Fea, who, as Winckelmann's third successor, beginning with the year 1801, acted as *Commissario delle antichità*; and for more than a generation carried on excavations in the Forum on a large scale. He commenced in 1803 with the excavation of the arch of Severus and began even at that early date to develope a plan for the complete excavation of the Campo Vaccino. The political developments of the following years did not permit this plan to be fulfilled immediately, but the French government too turned its attention to the Forum; the modern houses, which had been built beside the temple of Saturn and that of Vespasian, were destroyed, the façade of the Tabularium was laid bare, and the temple of Vespasian was restored. The houses which surrounded the column of Phocas were removed, and at last the inscription on the base was discovered (1811). The prefect

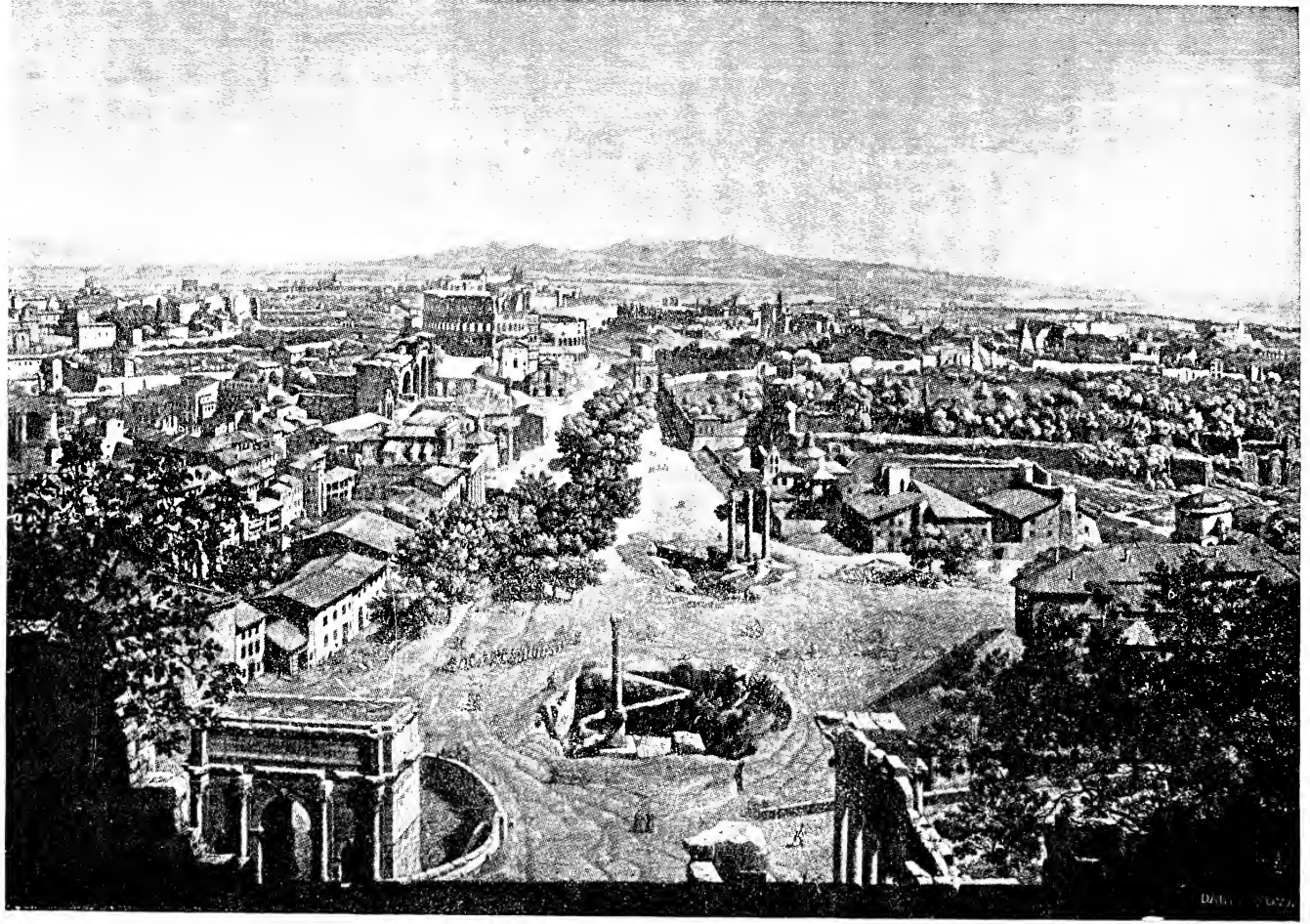


Fig. 16. The Forum in the year 1824.

De Tournon conceived the plan of uniting the Forum with the Colosseum and the Palatine, and thus creating a sort of 'Passeggiata Archeologica', though to be sure the carrying out of this project (cf. the plan in De Tournon's *Études statistiques sur Rome*, Pl. 23) would have hidden rather than uncovered the ancient monuments, We are indebted to this same period for the first accurate plan of the Forum, an excellent piece of work by the french architect Caristie (drawn 1811, published 1821).

On the return of the pope in 1814, Fea, who was again appointed curator of antiquities, continued his excavations most energetically: the front half of the temple of Castor, the NW corner of the Basilica Julia, the beginning of the Sacra Via with the first two brick bases (those next to the column of Phocas), and the temple of Concord, were all uncovered in the course of four years. Then the work ceased for a period of ten years, until in 1827 it was begun again by Pope Leo XII. under the supervision of Antonio Nibby. Between 1829 and 1834 the whole slope of the Capitoline and the foundation of the Tabularium were laid bare, and the excavations at the arch of Severus, at the column of Phocas, and on the Sacra Via were extended and connected with one another. The progress of the excavations between 1811 and 1836 is shown on the accurate plane made by G. Angelini and Antonio Fea (1837). The yield of scientific results from these excavations was published partly by the aged Fea in his *Indicazione del Foro Romano*, 1827, but more especially in the works of Bunsen (1834 and 1835) and of Canina (*Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano* 1834, 1835). A problem which had been discussed for centuries, the relation of the Comitium to the Forum, was solved by Theodor Mommsen in one of the earliest of the important articles which he wrote in Italy (1845). The pictur-

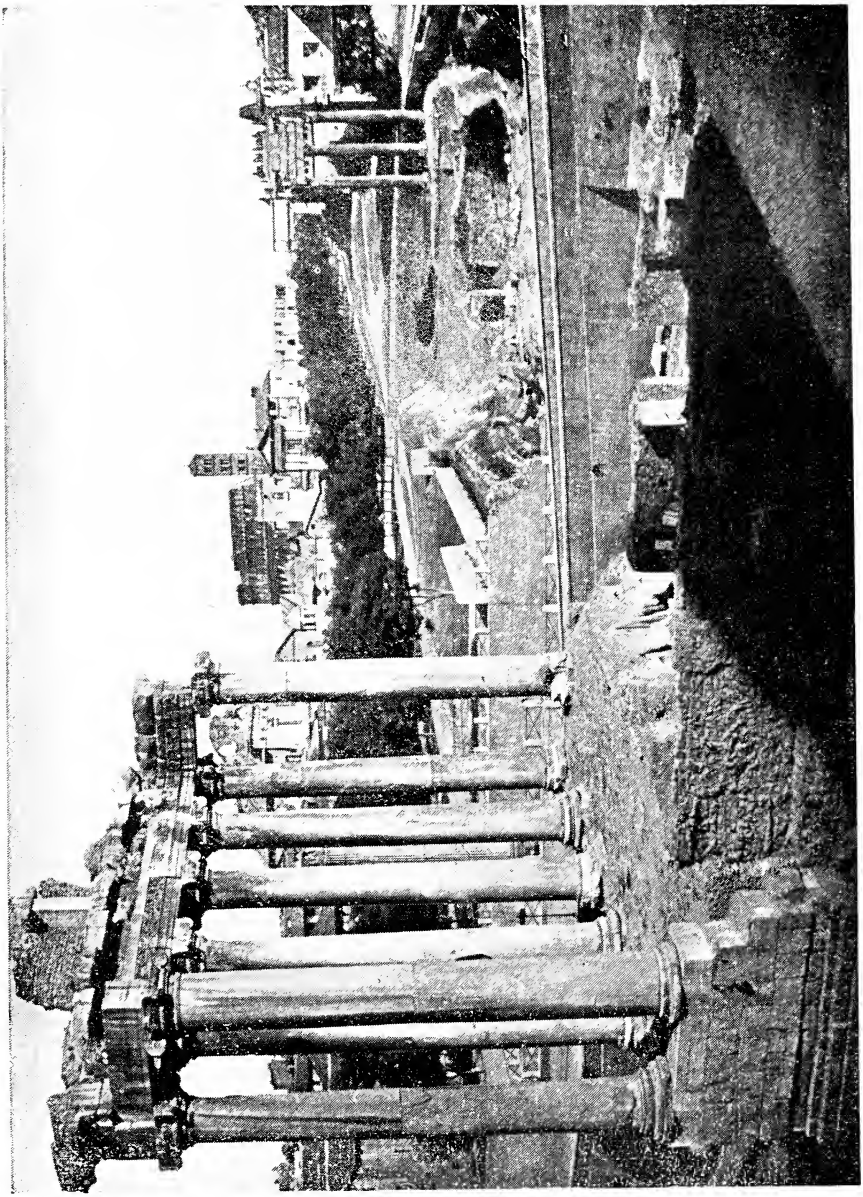


Fig. 17. The Forum in the year 1871.

esque appearance of the Forum however had begun to suffer, and King Ludwig of Bavaria complained (1834):

"Every where rents in the earth, till the eye beholds nothing but chaos!
Beautiful as it was once — now not a trace of it left!
Artists have nothing to say, archaeologists rule as they please here,
Blind to all but one side, caring for nought but their own".

And yet those portions of the ancient level which had been excavated were merely pits surrounded by railings, and the greater part of the Campo Vaccino with the avenue of elms was as yet untouched. This is proved, for example, by the beautiful etching by W. Fries (fig. 16). Not until the time of the short-lived Roman Republic (1848–1849) was any considerable area excavated, namely the front half of the Basilica Julia. The excavations at the arch of Tiberius and near the column of Phocas were continued also by the papal government until 1853, and then the work ceased again, this time for seventeen years.

All the more energetically did the Italian government after 1870 take up the work of exploring the whole of the Forum. Pietro Rosa, who had already won an enviable reputation as director of the excavations on the Palatine, was put in charge of the task, and accomplished in six years a great part of the undertaking. 1870–1871 the whole of the Basilica Julia up to the southern end was laid bare (see fig. 17); and in addition excavations were carried on at the temple of Castor, at the temple of Divus Julius, and at the column of Phocas; 1872–1873 the whole centre of the Forum was uncovered, and among other things the marble balustrades of Trajan were found (see below p. 100), and the excavation of the temple of Vesta was begun. The condition of those portions of the Forum which were at this time laid bare, namely a large section between the

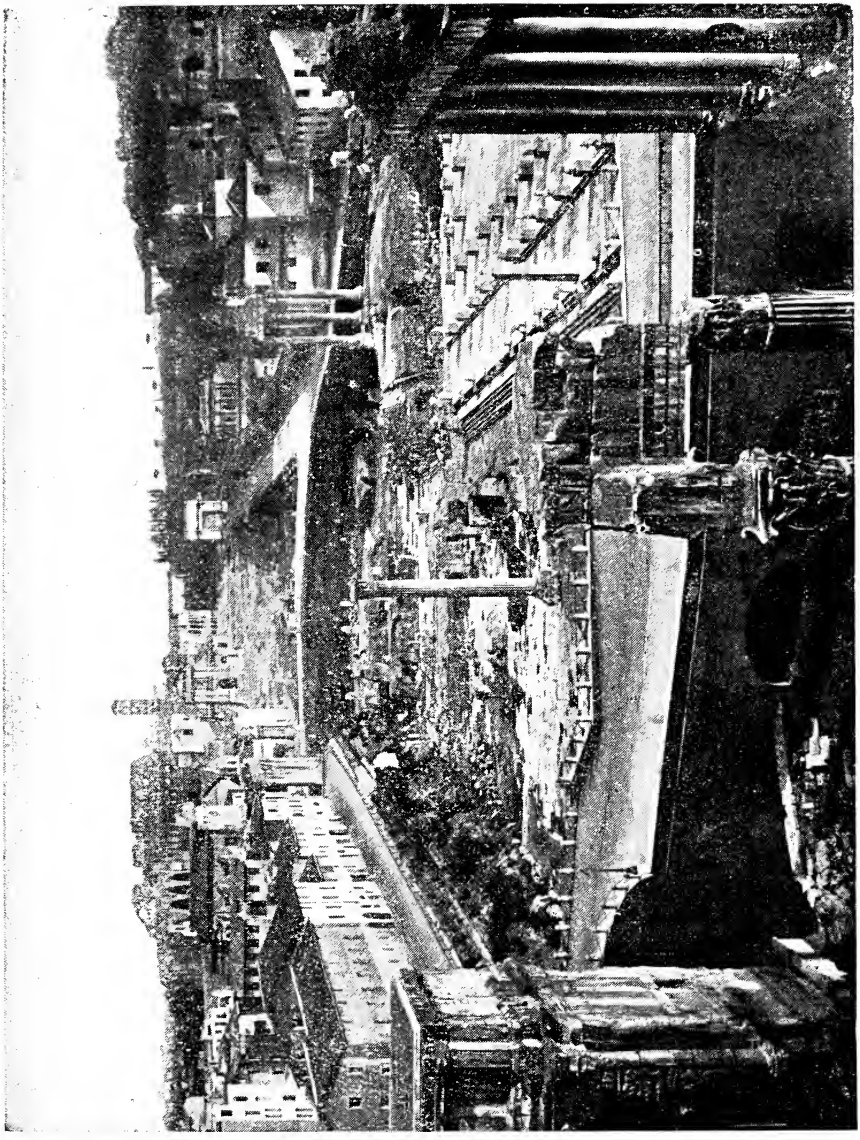


Fig. 18. The Forum in the year 1881.

temple of Caesar and the Rostra, and a small section including the temples near the Clivus Capitolinus, is shown in A. Dutert's book (*le Forum Romain et les Forums de César* etc. Paris, 1876, fol.). Rosa's successor, Fiorelli, continued the work: 1878-1880 the Sacra Via was opened up from the temple of Faustina to the Basilica of Constantine and to the church of S. Francesca Romana. Inasmuch however as communication lengthwise across the Forum was entirely interrupted, and communication crosswise was confined to two streets (Via Bonella–Consolazione and S. Lorenzo–S. Maria Liberatrice; see fig. 18), it seemed that out of consideration for the traffic of the modern city any continuance of the excavations would be extremely difficult. But in 1882 the minister Baccelli had the two streets removed, or rather transferred; and now for the first time all the ruins of the Forum and the Sacra Via were united in one magnificent group: the excavations were then continued until 1885, especially under the direction of R. A. Lanciani, and the most notable result was the surprising discovery of the House of the Vestals. Thereupon there followed a pause for thirteen years, interrupted only by certain deeper excavations for special topographical researches (at the Rostra, the Regia, the temple of Caesar, and the arch of Augustus).

The last period of the excavation of the Forum begins at the end of 1898 under the direction of Giacomo Boni; it surpasses all those that preceded it both in the number and the importance of the results obtained. The area laid bare by excavation has been doubled in extent; besides which the excavations themselves have not ceased at the level of the imperial city, as was previously the case, but they have been carried deeper and thus have brought to light very ancient monuments of the greatest historical value. On the other hand the

structures of later periods, which had been built among and over the monuments of classical times, have been carefully spared, so that our knowledge of the centuries of Rome's decline has been considerably increased. The chief incidents in this last great campaign of excavation are the following:

1898, December: Laying bare of the front of the temple of Caesar, with the altar; excavations at the temple of Vesta, the Clivus Capitolinus, and the arch of Severus.

1899, January 10th; Discovery of the *Lapis Niger* (upper layer).
February–April: Excavations at the Regia, at the temple of Faustina, and on the Sacra Via.
End of May: The shrine and the archaic stele under the black pavement.
Summer: Laying bare of the older *Clivus Sacer* in front of the Basilica of Constantine, the front of the Basilica Aemilia, and a part of the *Tabernae*.
October–November: The House of the Vestals (gold treasure).
December: Comitium, west part of the Basilica Aemilia.

1900, January–March: Comitium, Regia.
Spring: Demolition of S. Maria Liberatrice, discovery of the Lacus Juturnae and of the Basilica of S. Maria Antiqua.
Autumn: The rear of the temple of Castor, the upper (eastern) part of the Sacra Via.

1901, Continuation of the excavation of S. Maria Antiqua and the temple of Divus Augustus. 'Cuniculi' under the pavement of the Forum. Southwest corner of the House of the Vestals.
November–December: The Sacra Via near the arch of Titus.

1902, Spring; Private houses of the republican period (so-called Carcer) near SS. Cosma e Damiano.
April: First archaic tomb on the Sacra Via.
Summer and Autumn: Further uncovering of the archaic Necropolis. Private buildings (*horrea*) south of the temple of Divus Augustus.

1903, Further excavations in the old Necropolis.
June: Base of the statue of Domitian.
Autumn: Excavations in the Basilica of Constantine.

1904, Excavations under the arch of Augustus.
March: Find of vases in the base of the statue of Domitian.
June: Lacus Curtius.
Autumn: Excavations on the Clivus Sacer, between the arch of Titus and the Porta Mugonia.

1905, Continuation of the excavations on the Clivus Sacer. Investigations in the middle of the Forum (the so-called *Basis Tremuli* and *tribunale imperiale*).

In the last three years, progress has been slow; and with the exception of the researches at the Summa Sacra Via (see n. XLIII) there have been merely some unimportant experimental diggings. We may however expect in the future many important undertakings: complete excavation of the Basilica Aemilia (begun in October 1908 after the houses on the south side of the Via della Salara Vecchia had been demolished); demarcation of the Curia (S. Adriano); continuation of the excavations between the temple of Divus Augustus and S. Teodoro (and the laying bare of the whole NW slope of the Palatine as far as the Lupercal). Further it is earnestly to be desired that the Forum of Cæsar (Via Marmorelle, Via Marforio) should be investigated, and also the older monuments of the Comitium, which lie under it: this undertaking is important and promises a good return, and it is to be hoped that it will be carried out in connection with the systematization of the slope of the Capitoline which lies to the east of the monument to Victor Emmanuel II.

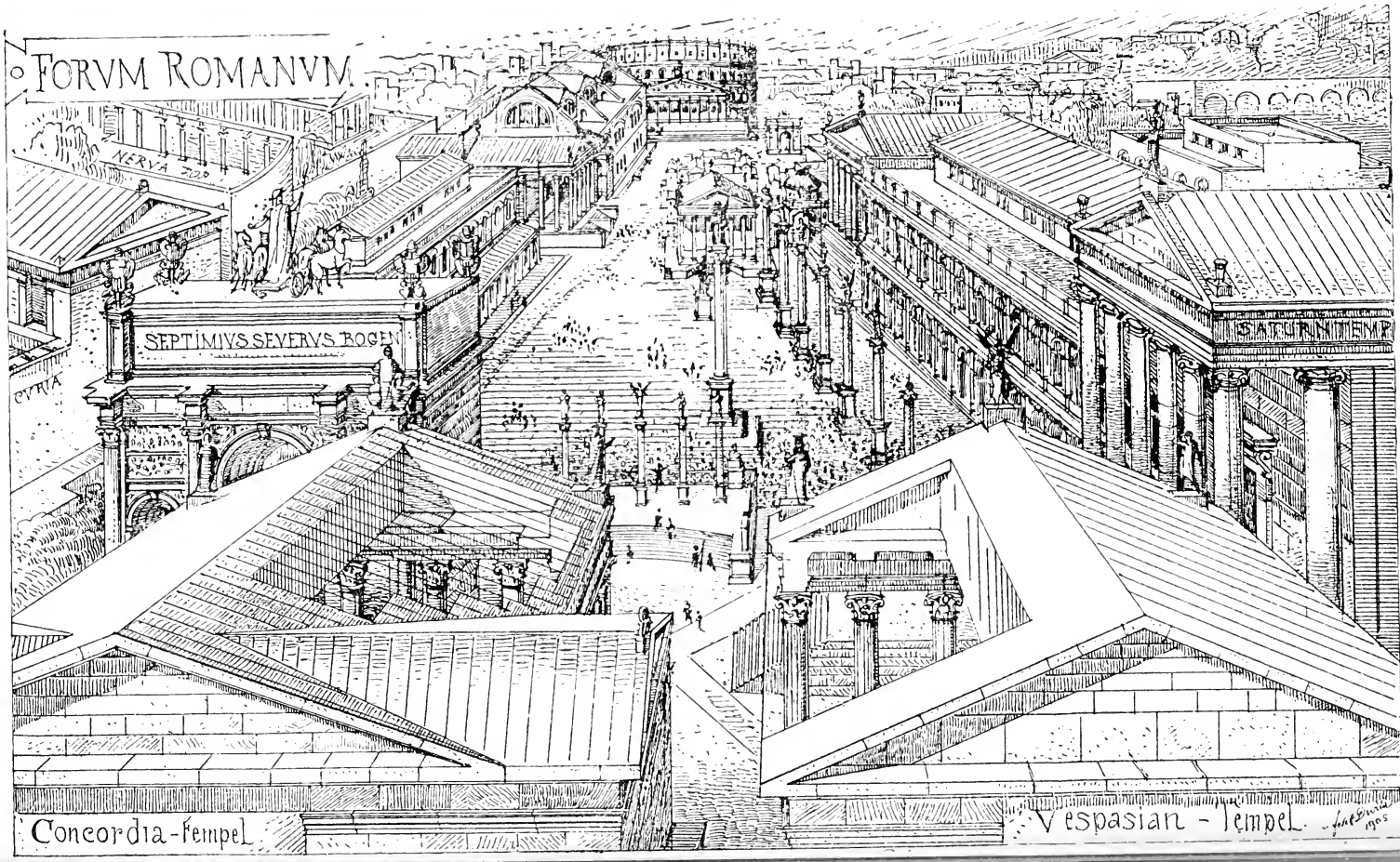
The statues, bas-reliefs, inscriptions, coins, terra-cottas etc., which have been found in the Forum, both those that have been discovered in the recent excav-

ations, and those that had been previously deposited in different museums (especially the museum in the Baths of Diocletian), are to be brought together in a " Museum of the Forum ", for which a suitable building is being prepared by alterations in the cloister of S. Francesca Romana. It is proposed to establish in connection with this museum a reference library and a collection of all drawings, engravings, and photographs, which have to do with the Forum, its excavation, and its reconstruction. Such an institution not only would be of great interest to the visitor to the Forum, but would also provide important material for scholars.

II. THE MONUMENTS OF THE FORUM.

The visitor to Rome usually obtains his first view of the Forum Romanum from the Capitoline side; and there is no spot more suitable for a general orientation of the ruins, than the projection in the Via del Campidoglio on the right-hand side, near the Tabularium, which stretches out like a balcony and is in reality the last remains of the carriage-road which was removed in 1882 (see above p. 54). The view from this point embraces not only the Forum proper with its temples, Basilicas, and triumphal arches, but also the Sacra Via, which, ascending the ridge of the Velia (arch of Titus), led from the Forum to the entrance of the old Palatine city (*Porta Mugonia, Porta vetus Palatii*). (Cf. the view which was taken from a point near here, only higher up, and the reconstruction, both on plate IV).

There are to be sure certain things which render it difficult to obtain a general idea of the arrangement of the Forum and of the monumental buildings which surround it. The open space proper, recognizable by its pavement of slabs of white travertine, is occupied in part by buildings of the very latest time, besides which it serves as a storage-place for columns and other architectural remains, and is in many places cut up by excavations. On the other hand many of the surrounding buildings have been


FORVM ROMANVM
NERVA 200
SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS BOGEN
CVRIA
SATVRNVSTEMP
Concordia-Tempel
Vespasian-Tempel

DANIEL VOGEL

razed to the foundations, and their ground–plans do not indicate, at the first glance, whether they belonged to covered or uncovered spaces. The temples are the most easily recognized: on the left hand the temple of Saturn with its eight smooth columns of granite; near, but separated from it by the modern city street, the temple of Vespasian, a corner of which is still standing, three beautiful Corinthian columns with entablature; further on, the temple of Concordia, destroyed except the foundation of the cella. The portico which supports the carriage–road and is partly concealed under it is the *Porticus Deorum Consentium*, and this completes the row of buildings at the foot of the Capitoline. At the opposite end of the Forum, under the Palatine, stands the row of three columns belonging to the temple of Castor, and to the right of this are the huge brick walls of the temple of Augustus; opposite the temple of Castor, at the beginning of the Sacra Via, is the best preserved of all the temples, that of Antoninus and Faustina. In contrast to the temples, the two great basilicas, which formerly bounded the Forum lengthwise on both sides, are almost absolutely destroyed. The ground–plan of the one on the south side, nearest to the spectator, the Basilica Julia, is indicated, though in a rather unfortunate fashion, by a number of modern brick pillars. Opposite on the north side lies the Basilica Aemilia, which has only recently been excavated, the façade of which occupied all the space between the temple of Faustina and the Senate–house (Curia, now the church of S. Adriano with its bald brick front). In front of the Curia stands the arch of Severus, in good preservation; nearer to the spectator, but partly concealed by the columns of the temple of Saturn, is the solitary column of Phocas, the latest monument in the Forum. On the road in front of the Basilica Julia are seven brick pedestals, all

of which formerly supported colossal columns: upon two of these pedestals the columns have recently been set up again. The east side of the Forum is bounded by the temple of Julius Cæsar, of which only the foundation remains.

Behind the temple of Cæsar the Sacred Way (*Sacra Via*) begins; on this road lies first the temple of Faustina, and just about opposite to it the house of the Vestals (*atrium Vestae*) with its court surrounded by high brick buildings (the temple of Vesta itself, of which only the concrete core of the foundation remains, is partly concealed from view by the temple of Castor). Farther along on the Sacra Via is the round temple of Divus Romulus (now the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano); behind it are conspicuous the three arches of the Basilica of Constantine. To the left of the temple of Castor is the arch of Titus, to which the Sacra Via runs. The massive structure of the Colosseum forms the background: in antiquity there stood in front of the Colosseum the splendid double temple of Venus and Roma, in the vestibule and the cella of which the church and the cloister of S. Francesca Romana now stand.

The longitudinal axis of the Forum lies almost exactly north-west to south-east: following the customary terminology however we shall designate as the north side that which lies between S. Adriano and S. Lorenzo, and as the south side that between the Basilica Julia and the temple of Castor.

In addition to the Sacra Via several other important ancient streets run into the Forum: on the south side at both ends of the Basilica Julia, the *Vicus jugarius* ('yoke-makers-street'), which runs along the foot of the Capitoline, and the *Vicus Tuscus*, which runs almost parallel with it along the foot of the Palatine. Both these streets connected with the Velabrum and afforded communication

between he Forum Romanum and the Circus and the Forum Boarium. On the north side of the Forum was an important street, the Argiletum, which was later used by Nerva for his *Forum Transitorium*. It ran into the Forum between the Basilica Aemilia and the Curia. On the north slope of the Capitoline (below the church of Aracœli) an important street afforded communication with the Campus Martius; under the republic it was called *Lautumiae* (stone–quarry–alley), under the late empire *Clivus argentarius* (money–changers–alley).

I. The **Basilica Julia.** The entrance to the Forum is on the south side in the Via delle Grazie. A foot–path bordered by bits of columns and various antique and mediaeval fragments leads down: the Basilica Julia is the first building which one enters.

The Basilica was begun in the year B. C. 54 (see above p. 17); and the Tabernae veteres and the Basilica Sempronia (see above p. 13) had to make way for it. On the day of celebration for the victory of Thapsus, September 26th, B. C. 46, it was dedicated by the Dictator Cæsar, although it was not yet finished. The building was completed by Augustus but was destroyed by fire. After the fire the emperor began a new building on a larger piece of ground, and dedicated it A. D. 12 in his own name and that of his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius, who had died. The building however kept the name Basilica Julia, and is only very rarely referred to as Basilica Gai et Luci. We know very little about the Basilica in the first centuries after Christ: in the great fire in Carinus's time (see above p. 23) and again in that in the time of Diocletian it was injured; and it also suffered when Rome was plundered by Alaric and his Goths: the Prefect of the City Gabinius Vettius Probianus restored it again and decorated it with

works of art (416). In the ninth century a little church, S. Maria in Cannapara, nestled itself into the west portico. In the following centuries it lay ruined and covered with debris, and served as a stone-quarry for the builders of the Renaissance. The hospital of the 'Consolazione', which owned the land, made a very considerable revenue in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by renting it out to those who wished 'to dig for marble and travertine'. The site of the Basilica was partially excavated in 1788, more completely in 1849, and at last entirely after 1870, but only such scanty remains of the architecture were found as the marauding diggers of the previous centuries had left.

The Basilica consists of three parts: the vestibule alongside of the Sacra Via, the main hall with the galleries surrounding it, and the separate rooms (*tabernae*) situated behind it (toward the 'Consolazione'). In order to see these three parts in their proper order one should first walk through the Basilica, as far as the vestibule (opposite the two colossal columns on the Sacra Via; Pl. I, *a*).

From the Sacra Via the vestibule was reached by a broad flight of steps (seven steps at the east end, only one at the west). The portico, which consisted of two stories, was supported by large pillars of marble, against the front of which were laid half-columns with simple Doric capitals. On the side toward the Forum the façade has been entirely destroyed; one pillar made of travertine was built up in modern times and does not represent therefore the original material. On the broken ends of the other pillars – and even these ends are mostly of modern construction – all sorts of architectural fragments and pieces of inscriptions, found in and around the basilica, have been placed: in the middle near the modern pillar two large bases with inscriptions of the city-prefect, Probianus, A. D. 416 (see above); on these are two small flat bases

with the inscriptions: *opus Polycliti* and *opus Timarchi*. Such bases with the names of artists, always very famous ones, are frequently found in the period after Constantine, when an attempt was made to protect the old statues of the gods against the iconoclasm of the Christ-

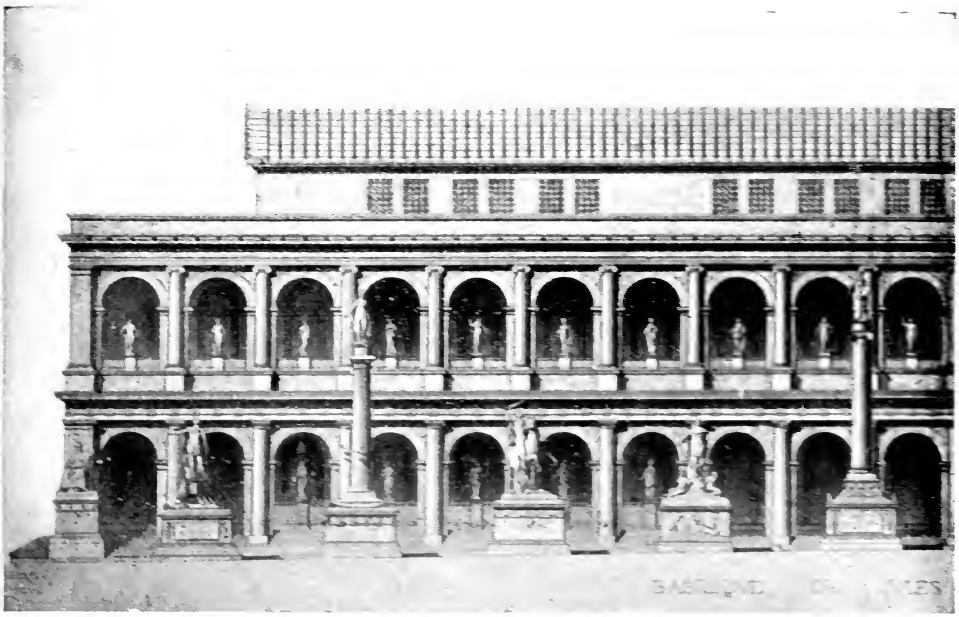
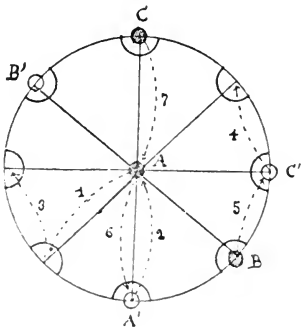


Fig. 10. Facade of the Basilica Julia.

ians by ascribing to them high artistic worth (the best known instances of this are the inscriptions of the "Horse-tamers" on the Quirinal). The pavement of the portico consists of slabs of white marble, on which in many places the diagrams of games (*tabulae lusoriae*) have been scratched: most of these diagrams are in the form of a circle and were employed in a game where two players, each provided with three pebbles, placed them at various points on the diagram and then made

alternate moves until one of them won by getting his three pebbles in a row (see fig. 20); others were rectangular, with various letters and symbols, mostly in groups of six. They seem to have been used in a game similar to our 'tick-tack'. The vestibule and the side-aisles of the basilica had flat roofs with terraces: Caligula was very fond of throwing coins from the roof of the



Black upon A B C

White » A′ B′ C′

Black begins, and wins with the seventh move.

Fig. 20. Tabula lusoria.

building down into the crowd in the Forum, who fought for them.

Two steps lead from the vestibule up into the main hall, which including the aisles was about 328 feet long and 118 feet wide (central nave 271 ft. by 59 ft.). Thirty-six pillars of brick, covered with marble, surrounded the central nave, and on this nave the galleries in the upper story opened; the roof above the central nave was one story higher than over the side aisles and the vestibule, and the central nave was lighted principally by windows in this story under the roof. The great quantity of timber which was used in making the roof offered food for the flames by which the building was so often injured. The side-aisles had ceilings of massive cross-vaulting with rich ornamentation in stucco (remains of the decoration were found in 1789 and 1849,

but they have disappeared since). The floor of the central nave was paved with large slabs of costly colored marble (*giallo, africano, pavonazzetto*); the pavement consisting of small bits of marble, which now covers the greatest part of the space, is modern. The side-aisles were paved with white marble; on the slabs are scratched, in addition to numerous diagrams of games, various representations of figures, in part clumsy attempts to reproduce statues which were exhibited there (near *b* on plan I, a *statua loricata*, near *c*, an equestrian statue).

In the main room of the basilica the sessions of the Roman jury-court (*centumviri*) were held; this court sat in four sections, at four separate *tribunalia*, but in especially important cases all four could be united (*quadruplex iudicium*). Quintilian tells us that when Galerius Trachalus (Consul A. D. 68), who was not only a very eloquent man but also the possessor of an unusually powerful voice, was speaking before the first tribunal, he received applause from the public of the other three tribunals as well. According to this the four tribunals can scarcely have been separated by solid walls, but curtains or wooden partition-walls, which could easily be removed, were used instead. Concerning a general session of the four tribunals in connection with a *cause célèbre*, Pliny, who made one of the speeches himself, tells us that not only was the lower room crowded but also the upper galleries 'where one could see well, but hear only with difficulty'. The Basilica accordingly, like many modern halls of similar construction, seems to have been deficient in acoustic properties.

Back of the second side aisle is a row of rectangular rooms with walls of tufa and travertine blocks which have an archaic appearance but belong in reality to the construction of Augustus. They are called *tabernae* and were probably used as offices, and as places of assembly

for corporations etc.; possibly also money-changers and bankers had their places of business here: *numularii de basilica Iulia* are often mentioned in sepulchral inscrip-

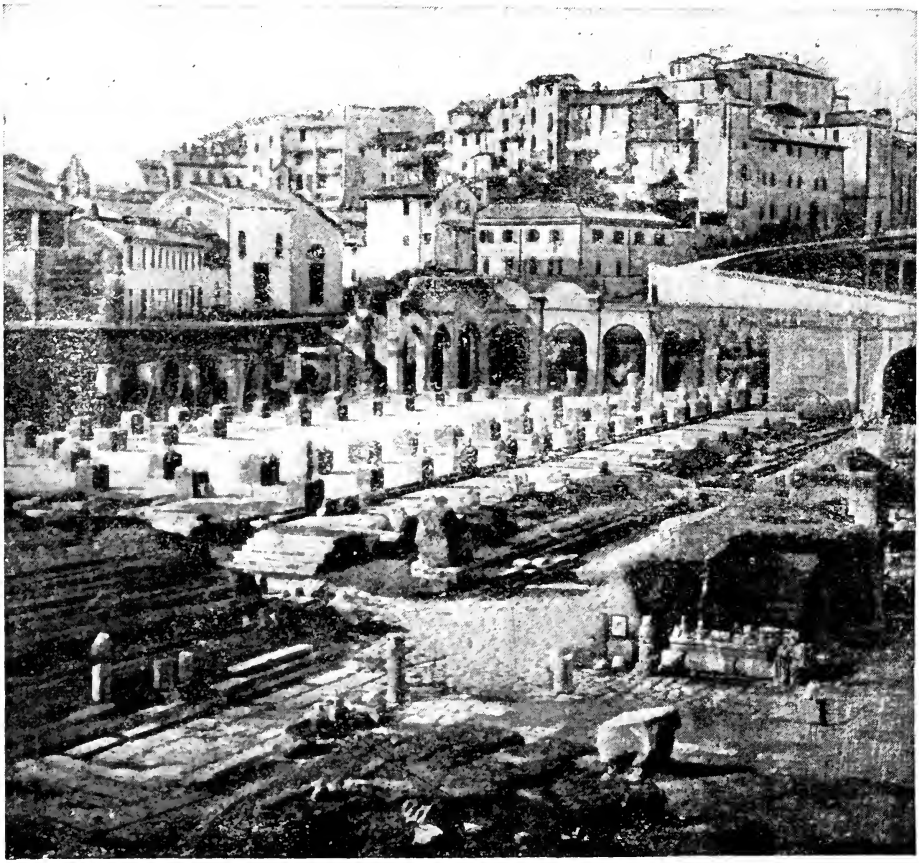


Fig. 21. Remains of the Basilica Julia.

tions. Up to the present only a small part of these *tabernae* has been excavated.

In the vestibule on the west side (that toward the Vicus Jugarius) are to be seen the remains of the small church of S. Maria in Cannapara ("in the rope-walk"):

the central nave must have served as such in the centuries of the decline): a column and slabs which formed a part of the chancel–rail, ornamented in the style of the VII. and VIII. centuries (see fig. 23). Owing to the

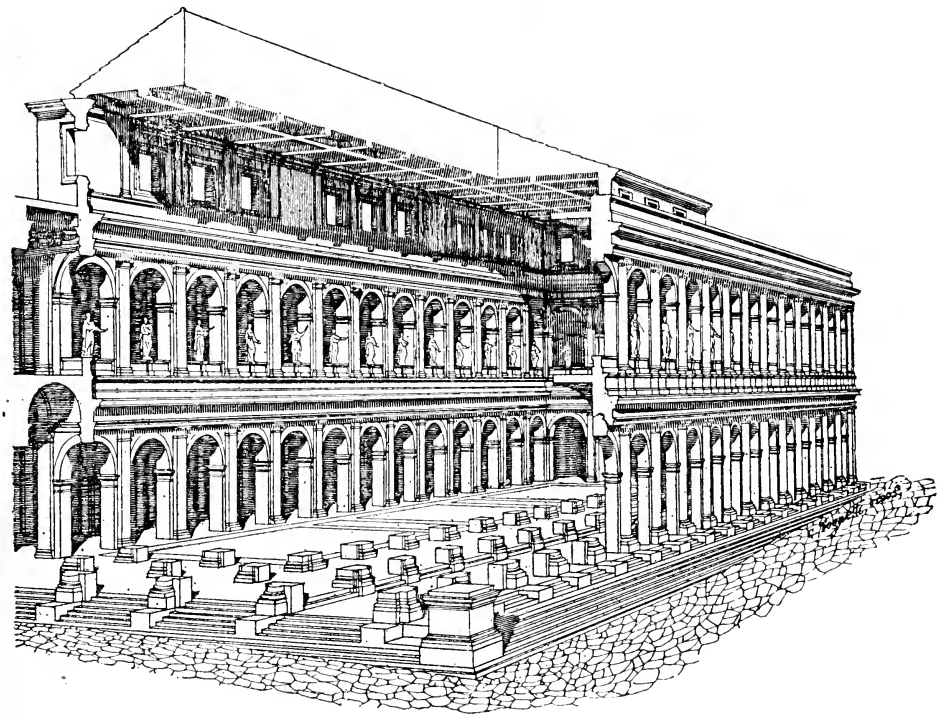


Fig. 22. Reconstruction of the Basilica Julia.

building of the church within the Basilica one or two of the outer pillars, which supported the vestibule, have been preserved; in the case of one pillar three layers of marble blocks are still in position; in the case of a second (at the north-west corner, plan I, *d*) only the impressions are to be seen, which have been left in the mortar of a brick pillar afterwards built against it. This pillars formed part of an arch over the street (the Vicus

Jugarius); but both the name of the arch and the time of its construction are uncertain. Also at the north-west corner of the basilica recent excavations have brought to light remains of walls of tufa and *opus reticulatum*,

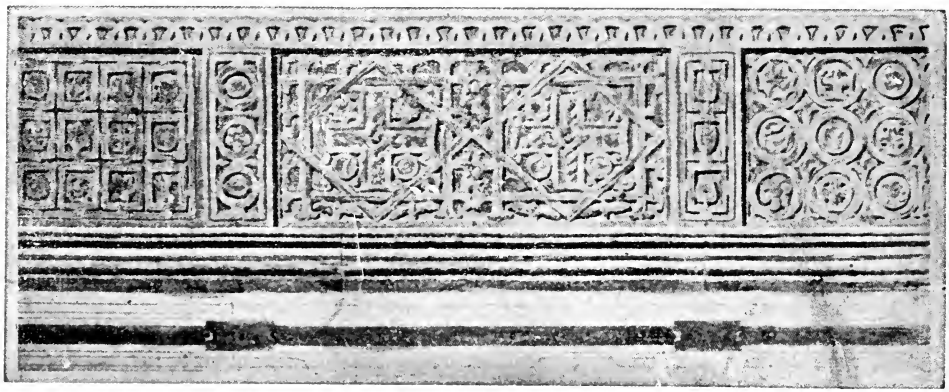


Fig. 23. Chancel rail of S. Maria in Cannapara.

which possibly belong to the older buildings of Caesar and Augustus.

II. The **Arch of Tiberius.** Across the Sacra Via about five feet below the level of the pavement remains of a large foundation of concrete are to be seen: this belongs to the arch of Tiberius. When during his expeditions in Germany A. D. 15 and 16 (battle at Idisiaviso) Germanicus had won back the standards lost at the defeat of Varus, this victory, which had occurred "under the leadership of Germanicus, under the auspices of Tiberius" (*ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii*), was celebrated toward the end of A. D. 16 by the erection of an arch "below the temple of Saturn". This arch, which as a matter of fact is mentioned only once – in Tacitus –, is usually called

"the arch of Tiberius". Remains of its architecture were discovered, partly in 1835, partly in 1848 when the viaduct (*ponte della Consolazione*) was built, but the foundations were not discovered until 1900. The single arch (represented in a relief on the arch of Constantine; see below fig. 28) did not cross the Sacra Via, but stood near it; fragments of it (with the beginning of the inscription SENATVS POPVLVS*que romanus*) lie on and around the last (westernmost) brick pedestal.

III. The **Schola Xantha.** To the right (northwards) near the foundations of the arch of Tiberius lies a marble pavement which belonged to a small room; traces on the marble slabs seem to show that a bench once extended along the sides and across the rear wall. At the present time nothing of the superstructure is left; but about 1540 excavations were made on this spot, and remains of a small but elegant structure from the time of the empire were brought to light. On the architrave over the entrance stood a double inscription, according to which an imperial freedman Bebryx (of the time of Tiberius) together with a certain Aulus Fabius Xanthus had built "the *schola* (office) of the clerks and heralds of the curule aediles", and had adorned it with decorations in marble, seats of bronze, and the silver statues of the seven planets (the gods of the days of the week). A second inscription, added later, gave the information that in the reign of Caracalla (about 224 A. D.) a certain C. Avilius Licinius Trosius had restored the *schola*. The bits of architecture and the fragments of inscriptions which were found at that time (1540) were immediately destroyed; even the exact spot where these discoveries were made was so completely forgotten, that for a long time the name 'Schola Xantha' was wrongly given to the seven chambers under the *Porticus Deorum Consent-*

ium (see below p. 91). It was most proper that the subordinate officials under the aediles should have their

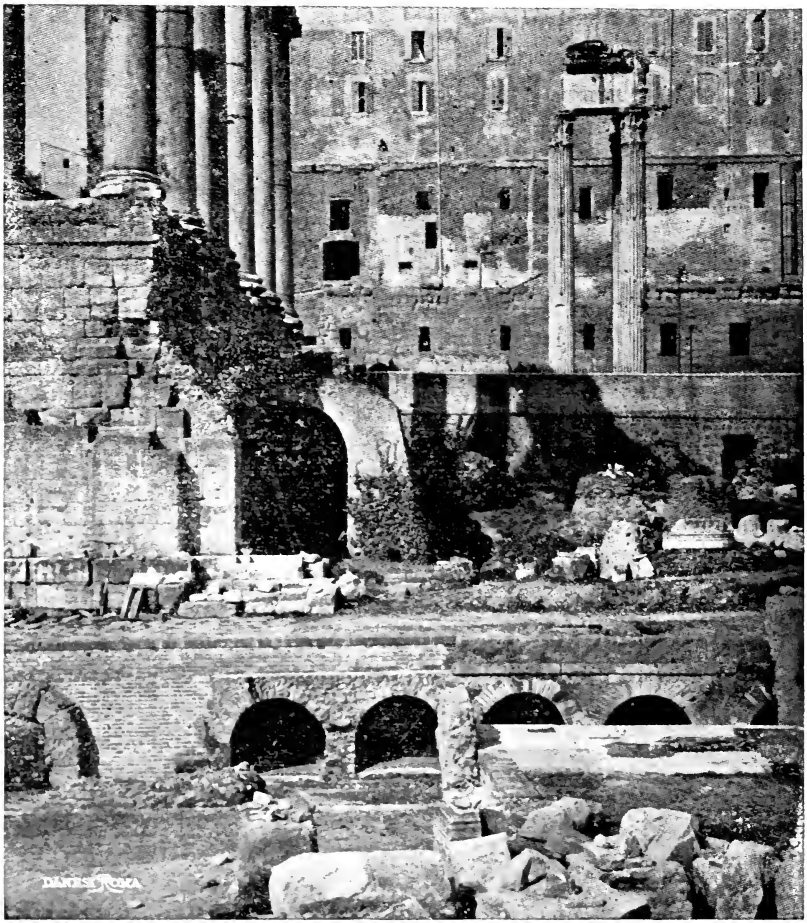


Fig. 24. Substructures of the Clivus Capitolinus.
(in the background the temples of Saturn and Vespasian).

office beside the Rostra and near the treasury (below p. 80).

IV. The so-called **Rostra vetera** (or **Rostri cesarei**). Behind the Schola Xantha is to be seen a row

of (eight) low arches, excellent specimens of *opus reticulatum*, which form small arched rooms. Near the arch of Severus one end of the structure has been preserved, but at the other end at least two arches were demolished in connection with the erection of the arch of Tiberius. Of the chambers that have been preserved, the four at the northern end (behind the Rostra) are somewhat deeper than those at the southern end (behind the arch of Tiberius): they have all of them an archaic

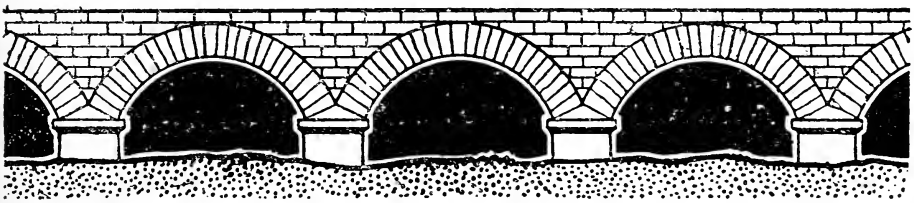


Fig. 25. Roman viaduct near Salona.

pavement made of bits of brick, which extends out somewhat in front of the arcades toward the Forum. The whole structure is scarcely more than 6 feet higher than the level of the Forum (the topmost layer of blocks of brown tufa is a modern addition): it is nothing but a supporting wall for the Clivus Capitolinus, which had to be moved about six feet to the east in consequence of the rebuilding of the temple of Saturn in B. C. 42 (below p. 80). Instead of a stout sloping wall with earth packed behind it, a small viaduct with low arches was made. A very similar construction in the neighbourhood of Salona in Dalmatia is represented in fig. 25. On account of a certain resemblance to the representation of the Rostra, as it was before the time of Augustus, on coins of Lollius Palikanus (B. C. 45: see below fig. 53),

the suggestion has been made that this structure is the Rostra which was removed by Julius Caesar to the west end of the Forum. But this theory is untenable not only on account of the narrowness and lowness of the structure, but also because it is inconceivable how it could have been ornamented with the beaks of ships.

The right (northern) side wall of the Schola Xantha is built directly against the stout wall of the Rostra.

V. The **Rostra**. The Rostra is preserved to us in the shape which it received in the time of the early empire. Caesar planned to move the old Rostra (which stood on the boundary of the Forum and the Comitium, see p. 6 and p. 114), but Augustus carried the plan to fulfilment. Probably the great walls of blocks of brown tufa which formed the body of the structure belong to his building. Of these only the lowest layers have been preserved, except at the north corner, where as many as four blocks lie above one another: most of the front wall is restoration (1904). On the outer side the blocks of tufa were covered with marble, and the front (80 Roman feet = about 78 English feet long) was decorated with the gilded bronze beaks of the captured ships of Rome's enemies. There are still to be seen, arranged in pairs, the holes in which the beaks of the ships were fastened. The façade was crowned by a marble cornice; the upper side of its blocks contains a groove for a balustrade of marble (and bronze). The façade of the Rostra (with the arch of Tiberius on the left) is represented on a relief on the north side of the arch of Constantine over the left-hand arcade (see fig. 23): from this picture it is clear that the balustrade had an opening in the middle, possibly so that a staircase could be placed there, leading down into the Forum, on the

occasion of some of the great ceremonies of State which took place on the Rostra (see p. 76). The same representation shows honorary statues at the

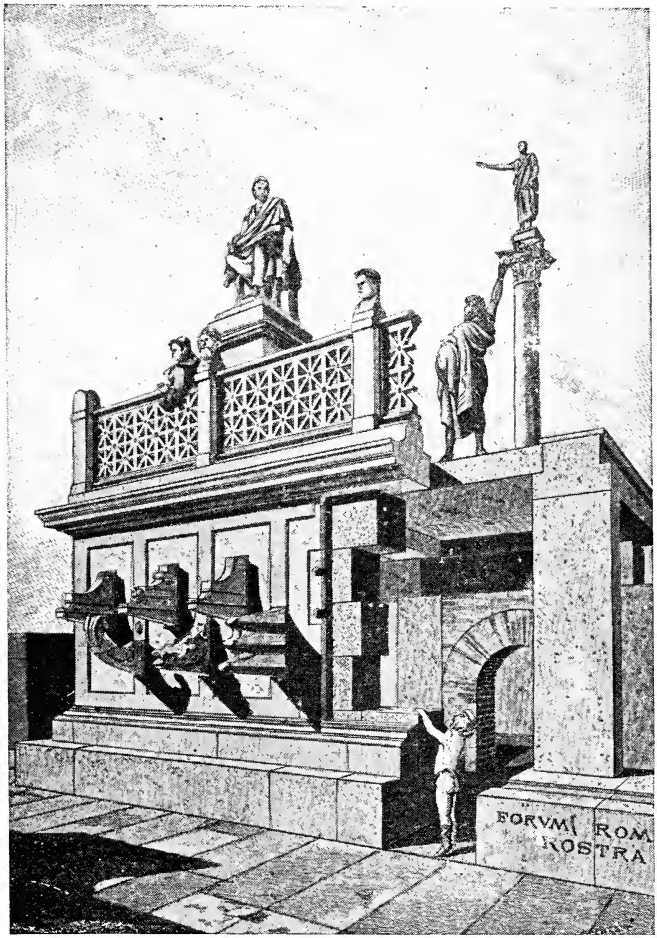


Fig. 26. Rostra, construction.

corners of the façade; the bases of two of these, erected in honour of Stilicho (beginning of the fifth century A. D.), were dug up here in the year 1539. The columns with statues, which are visible on the relief,

stood either on the platform of the Rostra or behind it on the Clivus Capitolinus. In the middle of the side-balustrades there stood, since the time of Trajan, the

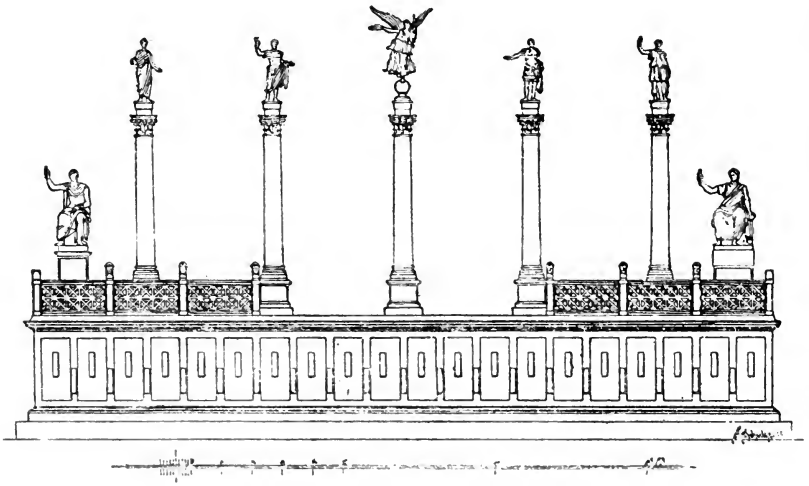


Fig. 27. Front elevation of the Rostra.

marble slabs, decorated with relief, which are described below (p. 100 ff.): from the rear the original platform was reached by a broad curved staircase of a few steps. The

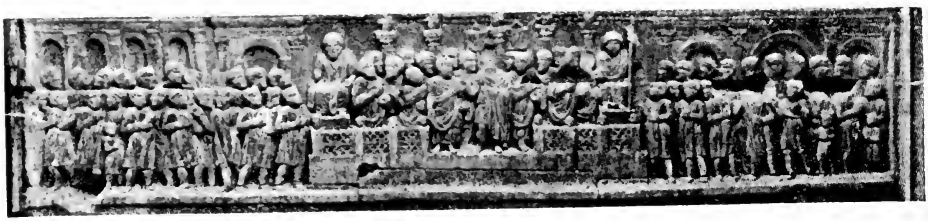


Fig. 28. Bas-relief from the arch of Constantine.

Rostra is surprisingly long and broad: the explanation of this is that it was intended not only for the individual speaker, but also oftentimes for the emperor and all his suite (see the illustration on the balustrade of Trajan,

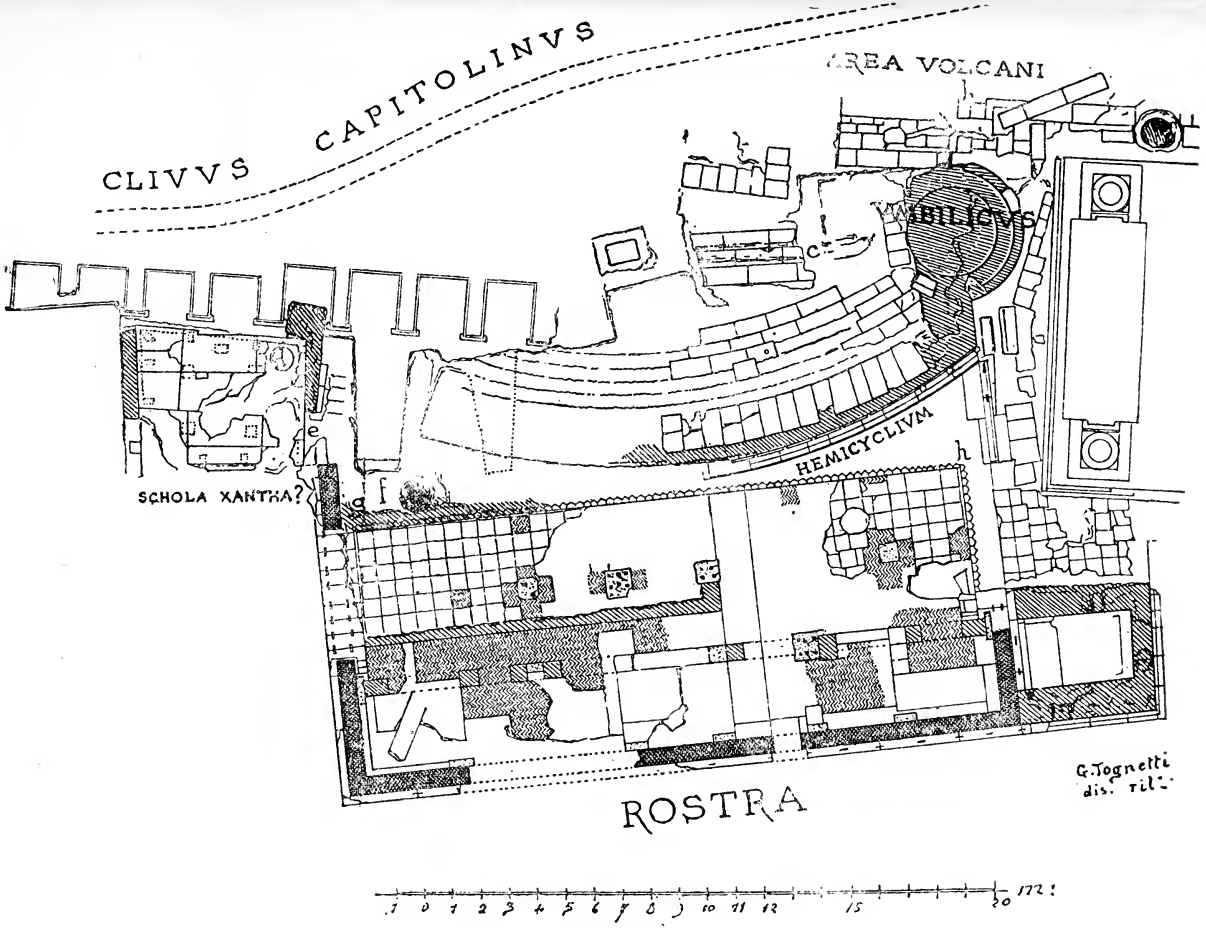


Fig. 29. Plan of the Rostra.

p. 100 f.). It may be permitted to mention here two such ceremonies of state, concerning which we possess detailed descriptions from antiquity: the reception of Tiridates by Nero, and the funeral ceremonies of Pertinax.

In the year A. D. 66 the Parthian king, Tiridates, who had accepted the conditions of peace proposed to him by Nero's general,

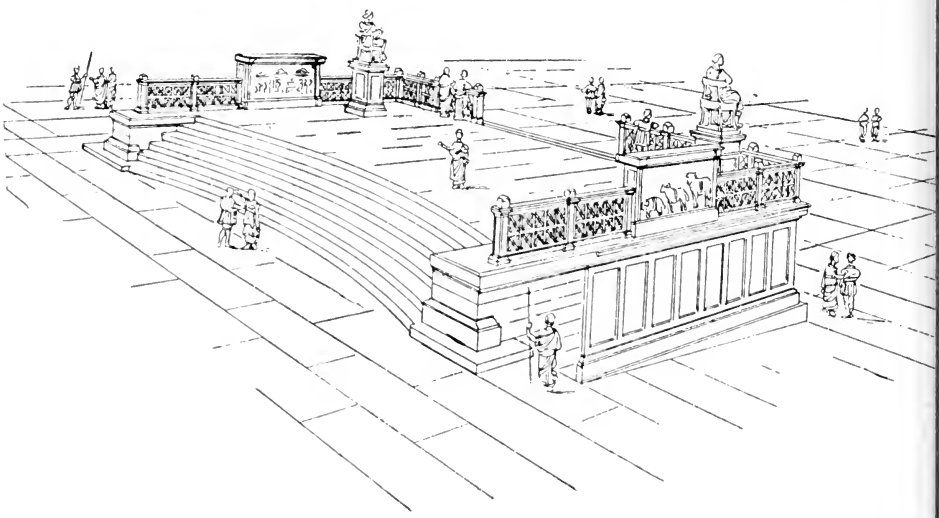


Fig. 30. The Rostra, seen from the Clivus Capitolinus.

Domitius Corbulo, came to Rome to receive his crown anew at the hand of the Roman emperor. Nero prepared for him a magnificent reception which is said to have cost 800,000 sesterces (200,000 francs) a day; the ceremony of the coronation is described as follows: "Before dawn the centre of the Forum was filled with delegations of the Roman people, in white garments and with laurel wreaths on their heads; on the sides and at the entrances the soldiers, with gleaming weapons and standards, were drawn up; countless spectators occupied every available inch of ground, even the very roofs of the buildings. At the rising of the sun Nero appeared in the Forum, clad in the garb of triumph, accompanied by senators and praetorians. He took his place on the Rostra, in a curule chair.

Then between the soldiers, who were drawn up along both sides, Tiridates with his suite was led to the Rostra, where he paid homage to the emperor. When the public saw this Oriental ruler bowing humbly before their emperor, they raised such shouts of enthusiasm that Tiridates was terrified believing this was the signal for his death. Nero however bade him be of good courage, received his address of homage, ordered a praetor, who understood the language, to translate it for the benefit of the people, and himself made a gracious reply. Then Tiridates mounted a staircase, which had been built in front of the Rostra, came to the emperor, kneeled before him, and received the crown from his hand: a scene which aroused once more the loud applause of the Romans".

Fig. 31. Augustus and Agrippa on the Rostra (Coin of Sulpicius Platorinus, about 18 B. C.).

The funeral ceremonies of Pertinax (A.D. 193) are described by an eye-witness, the historian Cassius Dio: "on the Forum Romanum a wooden stage had been built, close in front of the stone one (the Rostra): upon this had been constructed a small building, the columns of which were adorned with gold and ivory. In the building stood a couch of the same material, covered with purple cloth worked with gold: on the couch lay a wax figure of Pertinax, clad in the garb of triumph, and, as though the emperor slept, a beautiful young slave boy was engaged in keeping the flies away with a fan of peacocks' feathers. The emperor and we senators and our wives came to the ceremony in garments of mourning: the women took their places under the porticos (of the Basilicas), and we under the open sky. Then the funeral procession began; first the statues of all the famous Romans of the old days; then choruses of boys and men, singing a funeral hymn in honour of Pertinax; and then bronze statues representing all the provinces of the Roman empire, each one in the national costume. Then followed the subordinate officials, for example, lictors, clerks, and heralds; then again statues of famous men, those who had won fame by great deeds or discoveries. Then came armed soldiery, on foot and on horse, and then race-horses too: then the funeral gifts which the emperor, we senators with our wives, the knights, the citizens, the guilds and the associations had presented. Finally came an altar covered with gold, and

decorated with ivory and precious stones from India. After the procession had passed by, Severus mounted the Rostra and made a eulogy on Pertinax. The emperor's speech was frequently interrupted by manifestations of applause or of sorrow for Pertinax; and at the end the applause was loud. Then when the bier was about to be carried out great weeping and wailing ensued. The bier was carried from the catafalque by the pontifices and the magistrates, not only those who were at present in office but those who had been appointed for the following year; then it was given over to be borne by men appointed from among the knights. We senators walked in front of the body sorrowing and wailing; behind the bier came the emperor, and so the procession moved to the Campus Martius", where (on Monte Citorio) the ceremony of cremation and consecration took place.

In the reign of Septimius Severus the Rostra was rebuilt with considerable changes, necessitated by the erection of the arch in honour of Severus. In order to make possible a direct approach to the speaker's platform from the side toward the arch, a triangular court-yard (see *Hof* in fig. 32) was cut out of the northern half of the Rostra, and the curved west wall (*hemicyclium*) of this court was ornamented with slabs of red marble (Porta Santa) and pillars of *marmo africano*. Some of these slabs – which have been fastened to the wall again in modern times – still show the holes for the nails by which the bronze ornaments were attached. On the side toward the arch of Severus the wall was broken away and the court-yard seems to have been shut off merely by a gate.

In quite late times the façade of the Rostra was extended northwards by an addition built of poor brick work, in which also the holes for the fastening of ships' beaks are to be seen. An explanation of this is probably to be found in a long inscription, consisting of a single line, engraved on rectangular blocks of marble which on their upper side originally supported a balus-

trade. The inscription states that about A. D. 470, in the reign of the emperors Leo and Anthemius, a prefect of the city [Ulpi]us (?) Junius Valentinus restored the structure – probably after a naval victory over the Vandals; accordingly the building has been named '*Rostra Vandalica*'.

The various transformations of the Rostra can best be studied from above. One should go back accordingly

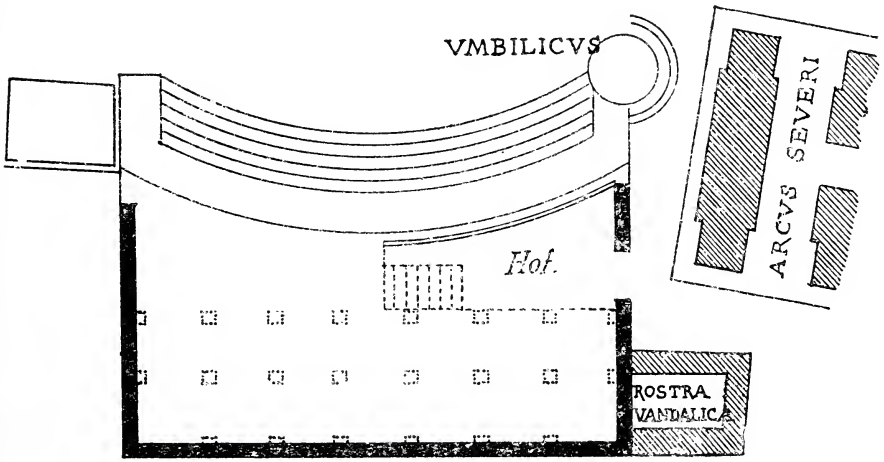


Fig. 32. The Rostra, with the alterations of Septimius Severus.

past the Schola Xantha and the arch of Tiberius and up the Clivus Capitolinus. In this way one comes to the temple of Saturn.

VI. The **Temple of Saturn.** To it belong the eight unfluted granite columns with the lofty foundation of travertine blocks.

Next to the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus the temple of Saturn is the oldest sanctuary dedicated after the fall of the kingdom. The Consul T. Larcius dedicated it December 17 B. C. 498; but according to tradition an altar dedicated by Hercules stood originally on the same spot. The dedicatory festival, the Saturnalia,

became one of the greatest and most popular festivals of old Rome, and when it ceased in Christian times it left a great heritage to Christmas. In B. C. 42 the temple was restored by Lucius Munatius Plancus, with the booty captured from the inhabitants of the Alps (it was in their country that he had founded the *Colonia Augusta Rauracorum*, the modern Basel). From the early times of the republic the temple served as a state treasury (*aerarium Saturni*), and even after the fall of paganism it was still used for this practical purpose. In the fifteenth century, so the humanist Poggio tells us, a part of the walls of the cella was still standing; they were not torn down until 1440, when the Romans wanted the stones for new buildings. The temple, which in the sixteenth century was buried deep in debris (see fig. 12, p. 41), was excavated partially in 1811, and more completely 1834-1837.

In all probability the great substructures of travertine, which contained the vaults for the treasure of the state, belong to the building as restored by Plancus. When at the beginning of the civil war Cæsar took possession of the treasury, he found in it 15,000 bars of gold, 30,000 bars of silver, and 30 million sesterces (about seven and half million francs) in coin. In later time the superstructure of the temple was again restored; according to the inscription on the architrave: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS INCENDIO CONSVMPTVM RESTITVIT – it had been destroyed by fire. Judging by the character of the letters in this inscription the restoration can hardly have occurred before the fourth century A. D. The columns of the vestibule are of grey granite, the columns at the side of red granite (about 4 ft. 3 in. in diameter, and about 36 ft. high); the bases are not uniform, and the whole structure makes the impression of a hasty and careless piece of work af a late period. The vestibule was approached by a flight of steps, the ground-plan of which has been preserved on a fragment of the Forma

Urbis (see above p. 22). The entrance to the ' treasury' was probably on the south side, i. e. toward the ' Consolazione '; in the middle ages there was situated on this spot the little church of *S. Salvator de Statera*, with the relief described in the Mirabilia and said to represent the paying off of the army (see above p. 34). In front of the façade under the steps are found remains of old constructions of tufa (drains etc.): some of these have been wrongly identified as the remains of the altar of Saturn attributed to Hercules.

VII. The **Milliarium Aureum.** Near the Rostra and below the temple of Saturn stood the ' Golden Milestone ' (*milliarium aureum*) erected by Augustus in B. C. 20. It was a marble shaft, covered with gilded bronze, on which were inscribed the distances from Rome to all the important cities of Italy and the provinces. Distances on the Roman military roads were however in the time of the empire reckoned from the gates of the Servian wall: for example the Via Appia from the Porta Capena, the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana from the Porta Collina; these gates were almost a Roman mile distant from the Forum. In the excavations of 1835 there were found two fragments of a great marble cylinder (diameter about 4 ft.), the surface of which had been left rough and still showed traces of having been covered with metal: these pieces, which are lying at present in front of the temple of Saturn, belonged in all probability to the Milliarium. The exact situation of the mile-stone cannot be ascertained because the foundations were destroyed in connection with the building of the modern street (1835).

VIII. The **Umbilicus Urbis Romae.** The cone-shaped structure of brick at the north end of the *Hemi-*

cyclium (see plan p. 75 and p. 79) marks the ideal centre of the city of Rome. Similar monuments marking the centre either of a city or of the whole earth existed in Greek and Hellenistic cities, for example at Delphi, Athens, Antioch; their name was *Omphalos* (navel). The description of the regions of the city from the time of Constantine mentions the ' Umbilicus Urbis Romae ' as standing near the temple of Concord; and the Anonymus of Einsiedeln in the eighth century speaks of it as near the Church of SS. Sergio e Bacco: the brick remains agree with both these references. The core of brick, consisting of three sections, one above another, was probably covered on the outside with white and colored marble; we do not know how the top was finished off (by a statue or a column?).

IX. The **Volcanal**. Behind the Umbilicus and protected by a modern wooden roof lie the remains of some very old buildings made of blocks of tufa. They are generally considered the foundations of an altar of Vulcan which stood in a sacred enclosure under the open sky (Volcanal). This Volcanal, traditionally ascribed to Romulus, was considered one of the oldest sanctuaries in the city; even as late as the time of Pliny the Elder (about 70 A. D.) a lotos tree grew there, which was said to be as old as Rome itself, and the roots of which stretched as far as the Forum of Cæsar. The space around the Volcanal (the *Area Volcani*, as it was called) covered originally considerable ground; in the time before Cæsar various objects were exhibited there; a statue of Horatius Cocles, another statue standing on a column and representing an actor who was struck by lightning during the games in the Circus, a *quadriga* of bronze, which Romulus dedicated after his victory over the Caeninenses, and an inscription

put up by Romulus himself 'in Greek letters' and recounting his deeds. Naturally no trace of any of these things has been found; but the fact that the cult of Vulcan continued here later, is shown by a marble

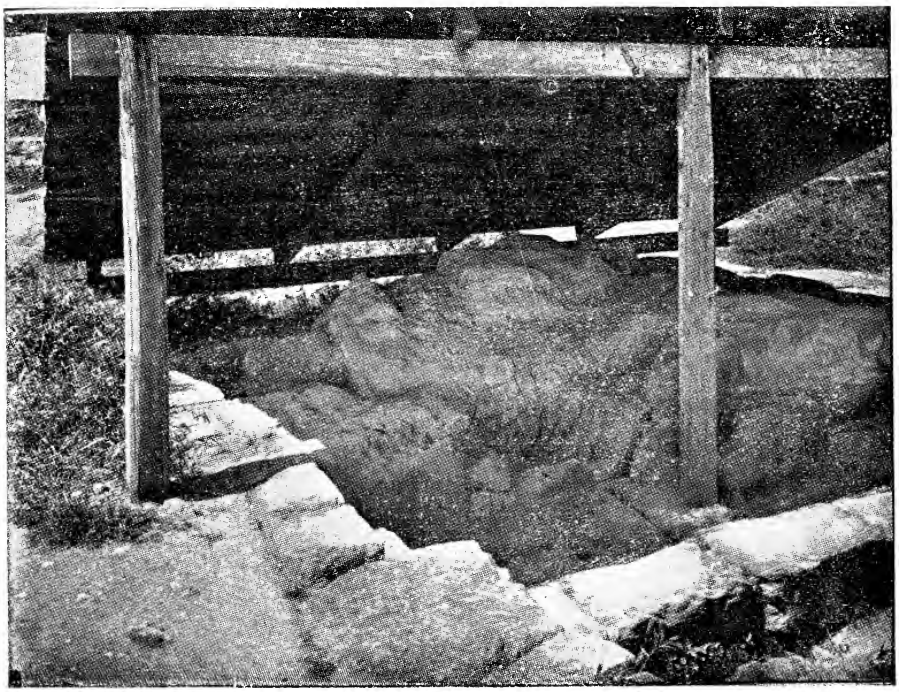


Fig. 33. The Volcanal.

slab which was excavated here in 1548 (now in the Naples museum) and which, according to the inscription on it, stood under a dedicatory gift which Augustus made to Vulcan in B. C. 9. The Volcanal was very much narrowed and partly done away with by the building operations of the empire (the enlargement of the temple of Concord, the construction of the arch of

Severus etc.). According to Roman tradition the Volcanal served as the speakers' platform in the time of the kings, before the erection of the Rostra; it is perhaps no accidental coincidence that when Augustus restored the Rostra he moved it very near to this spot. Other old remains (pavement of tufa, with channels for drainage etc.) between the Volcanal and the Hemicyclium cannot be identified with certainty. Behind the foundation of the altar of Vulcan are to be seen traces of a flight of steps, cut into the tufa of the Capitoline hill, and leading up to the vestibule of the temple of Concord (see below p. 93 f.).

X. The **Arch of Severus.** In the immediate neighbourhood of the Volcanal is the arch of Severus, which was built in 203 A. D. in memorial of the victorious wars of Septimius Severus in the east.

Three times Severus was compelled to have recourse to arms in order to render secure the dominion of Rome in the region of the Euphrates: at the beginning of his reign (193 A. D.) when the Parthians and the Arabians of Hatra gave assistance to the rival emperor Pescennius Niger, he added to the empire the whole region between the Euphrates and the Tigris under the name of Mesopotamia. Then in 197 A. D., when he was called away to Gaul by the revolt of Clodius Albinus, those whom he had just subdued in the east arose in insurrection; after defeating Albinus (198) he returned to the east and conquered the enemy in two campaigns 198–199; the royal cities of the Parthians, Ctesiphon and Seleucia, were captured and 100,000 prisoners were taken and sold as slaves. However the Romans did not succeed in capturing Hatra, the desert stronghold of the Arabians. In spite of this the emperor took the cognomina of victory *Arabicus Adiabenicus* (Adiabene corresponds to ancient Assyria) *Parthicus Maximus*. In 202 he returned to Rome and celebrated the tenth anniversary of his reign (*decennalia*); on this occasion the arch was erected in his honour by the Senate and the people: but he did not celebrate a triumph after his

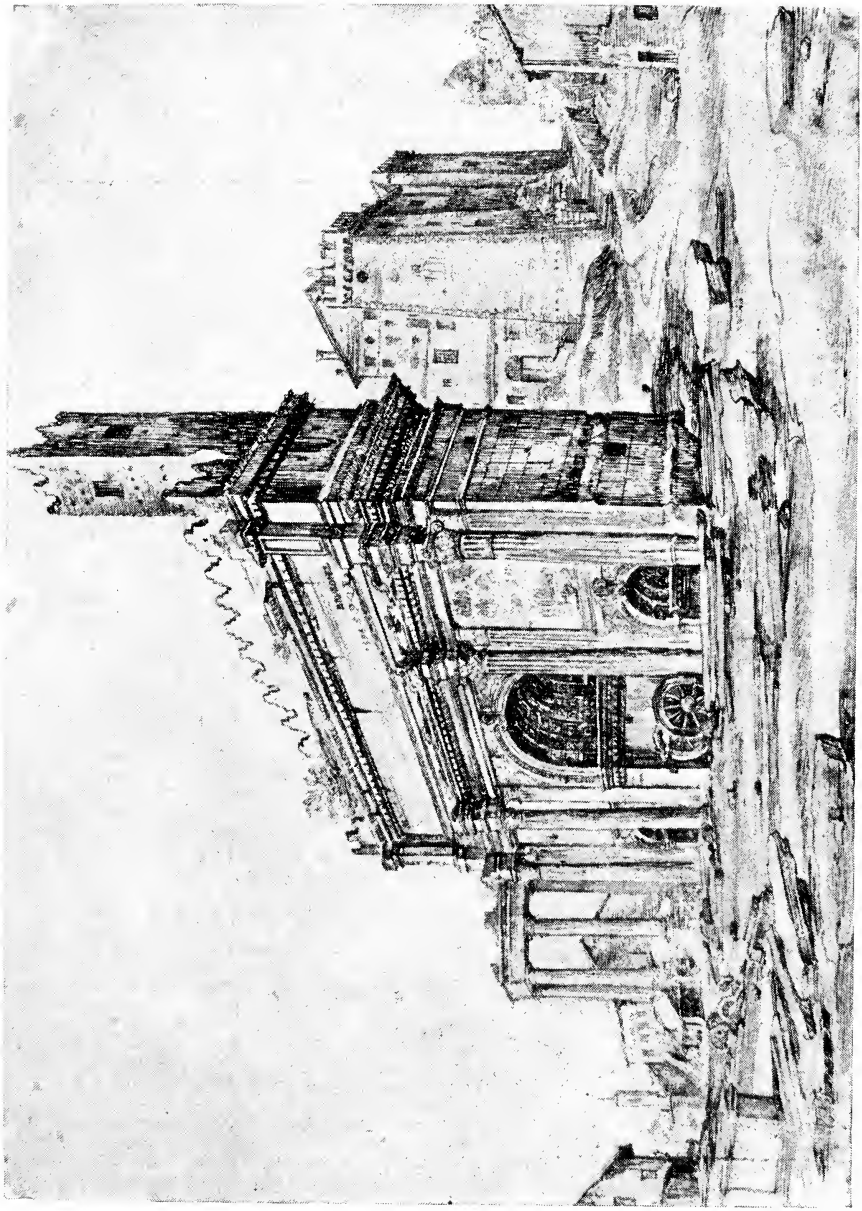


Fig. 34. The arch of Severus in 1594.

wars in the east. The excellent preservation of the arch is owing to the fact that in the middle ages the southern half of it was the property of the neighbouring church of SS. Sergio e Bacco (see fig. 11 and 41), and the northern side arcade belonged in the twelfth century to a fortification of the barons (*claustrum Cimini*), remains

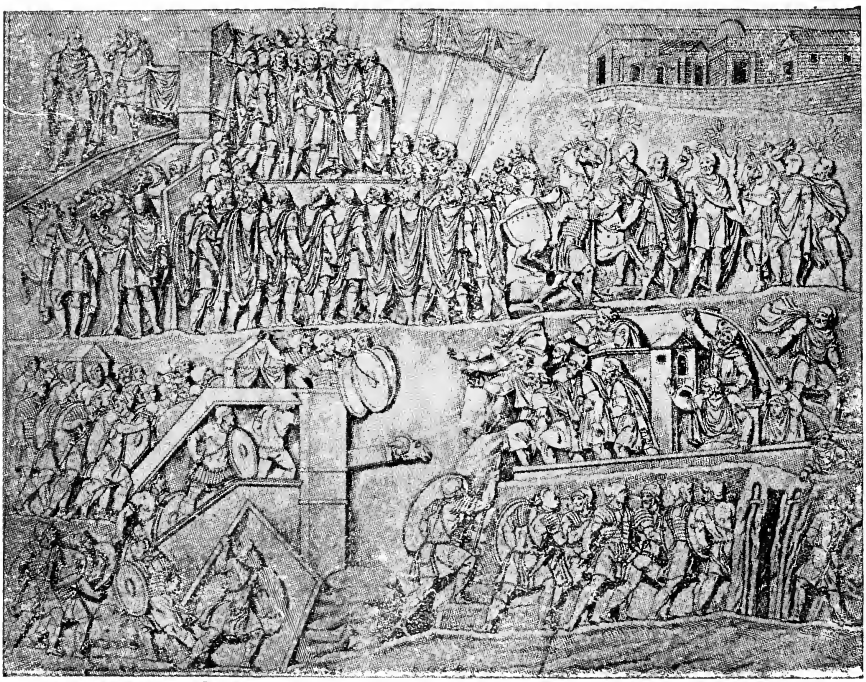


Fig. 35. Relief from the arch of Severus (Capitoline side, to the right).

of which (embattled tower, see fig. 34 and 58) were still in existence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In antiquity the arch was accessible from the Forum only by steps and was accordingly not used for ordinary street traffic. The middle archway is 40 ft. 4 inches high and 22 ft. 11 inches wide; each of the side archways is 22 ft. 11 inches high and 9 ft. 10 inches wide. The façades are decorated each with four columns of compo-

site style, standing on high bases; on the sides of these bases are bas-reliefs representing legionary soldiers leading Oriental prisoners in chains. On the keystone of the middle arch on the side toward the Capitoline is Mars; in the triangles are Victories with trophies,

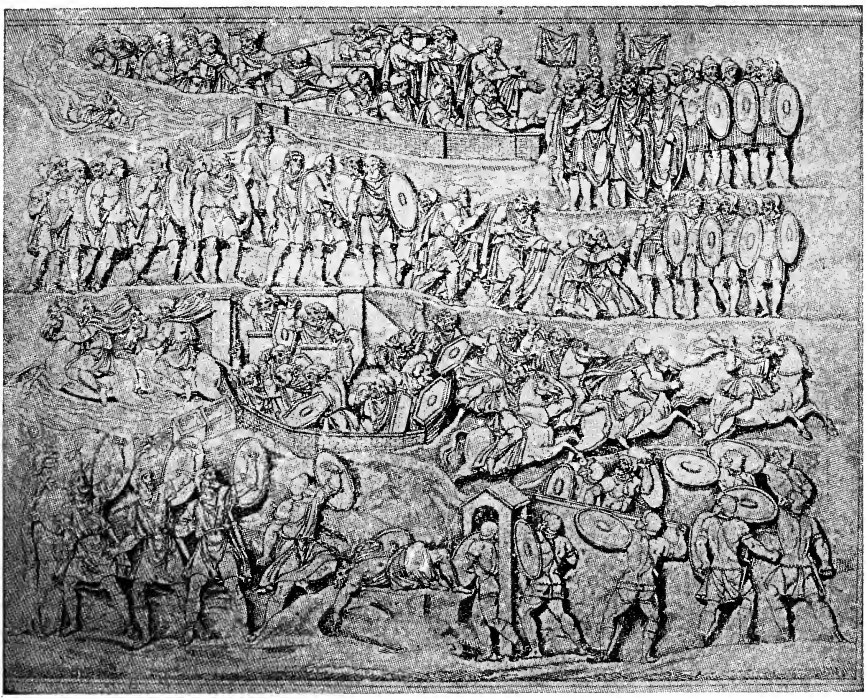


Fig. 36. Relief from the arch of Severus (Capitoline side, to the left).

and beneath them the Genius of summer (on the left) and that of autumn (on the right). Over the side archways in the triangles are river-gods, above them are narrow reliefs with approximately the same representation on all four sides; Roma (at the right end) receives the homage of conquered Oriental peoples; booty and trophies are being carried on wagons. Above are large reliefs with scenes from the history of the war, each in

two rows; over the right-hand arch (fig. 35), in the upper row: the expedition setting out, the emperor, surrounded by his suite and the standard-bearer, is making an address (*allocutio*) from a raised platform (*suggestus*); in the lower row: the besieging of a city, the walls of which are being destroyed by a battering-ram (*aries*). Over the left hand arch (fig. 36) in the upper row: the siege of a city situated on a river (Euphrates or Tigris?), the inhabitants are sending a deputation to the emperor announcing their submission; in the lower row: a city or a stronghold, also near a river, being besieged by the Romans who are also putting to flight the enemy's cavalry. There are similar bas-reliefs on the side toward the Forum: in the triangles the Genius of spring (on the right) and that of winter (on the left); over the left arch: beginning of the expedition and address of the emperor; over the right arch: a parley with the barbarians, making of a camp, storming of a city. A more accurate description is not possible, both on account of the fragmentary character of our knowledge of the actual events, and also because of the schematic treatment, which when compared with the life-like and individual scenes on the column of Trajan or even on that of Marcus Aurelius shows clearly the rapid decline of art at the end of the second century.

On the attic, the corner pillars of which were adorned with bronze ornaments (trophies?), is the inscription, according to which the senate and the people dedicated the arch to Severus and Caracalla « on account of the restoration of the state and the extension of the empire ». Examination shows that the last two letters P(*atri*) P(*atriae*) of the third line and the whole fourth line occupy the place of an older inscription which has been erased — the surface on which the letters now visible were cut is not in the surface plane of the rest of the inscription, because

in erasing the original inscription the marble was cut away. The rivet-holes for the bronze letters of the original inscription are still to be seen, so that the letters can be deciphered with certainty: ET · P · SEPTIMIO GETAE NOB(*ilissimo*) · CAESARI. After Caracalla in the year 211 had by murder rid himself of his brother, who had been appointed his partner on the throne, he caused his name to be erased from all public monuments. The lacuna thus created was filled up by adding to the titles of Severus and Caracalla the phrase: P(*atri*) P(*atriae*) OPTIMIS · FORTISSIMISQVE · PRINCIPIBVS — « To the father of the fatherland, to the best and bravest of rulers ». According to the coins a sixhorse chariot of bronze stood in the middle of the attic, with the statues of Severus and his sons, and at the corners possibly in addition equestrian statues.

Fig. 37. Coin of Severus.

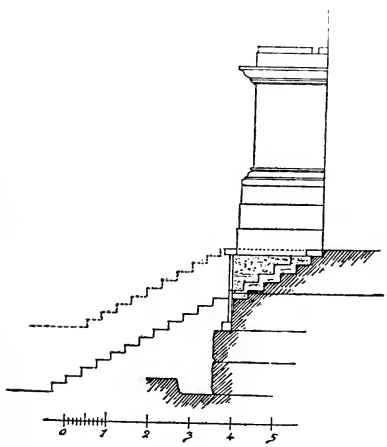


Fig. 38.
Steps leading to the arch of Severus.

On the side toward the Forum there seems to have been originally a flight of 6–8 steps in front of the whole width of the arch; later for reasons which we do not know the level of the Forum was lowered at this point by about eight feet. As a result, the flight of steps had to be lengthened, and in the side arches it is still possible to see how steps were cut into the great travertine blocks of the foundation. On account of this change of level

the foundation of travertine which had been originally under ground, came into view at the corners and was in its turn covered with thick slabs of white marble, in order to harmonize with the rest of the structure, which was entirely of marble.

[The temple of Concord, the temple of Vespasian, and the portico of the Dei Consentes are separated by the modern city-street from the rest of the excavations in the Forum: the entrance is at the south corner under the flight of steps which leads to the Via del Campidoglio. Visitors should apply to the custodians of the Forum. Our description of these ruins follows the order in which they lie, beginning at the entrance].

XI. The **Portico of the Dei Consentes.** The portico of the twelve gods, which was excavated in 1834, consists of two wings which join each other at an obtuse angle; behind the colonnade are at present seven rooms of varying size, and there were probably originally several more. They contained the statues of the Olympian gods. Varro speaks of the twelve gilded statues of the *dei consentes*, which were exhibited in the Forum; in the market place at Athens also there stood similar statues of twelve gods. In Rome these gods were Juppiter-Juno, Neptune-Minerva, Apollo-Diana, Mars-Venus, Vulcan-Vesta, Mercury-Ceres. The portico in Rome was restored in the dying days of paganism by one of the most zealous representatives of the old faith, the Prefect of the City, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus. The inscription reads:

deorum cONSENTIVM SACROSANCTA SIMVLACRA CVM OMNI LO*ci*
*totius adornatio*NE CVLTV IN *formam antiquam restituto*
*v*ETTIVS PRAETEXTATVS . V . C . PRA*efectus u*RBI *reposuit*
CVRANTE LONGEIO . . . . . *v . c .* cONSVLARI

The columns are of Cipollino, their flutings are filled in the lower half with astragals, and the fillets are similarly ornamented. The capitals were ornamented with trophies; the best preserved of these is in the Tabularium. In 1858 this ruin was largely restored: the columns of travertine date from this restoration. The rear wall of the rooms in the left wing is a very old retaining wall of tufa, which

supported the Clivus Capitolinus. In the open space in front of the portico of the Dei Consentes are a large number of architectural fragments, most of which were found in the excavations of 1834, among them some from the arch of Tiberius (see above p. 68 f.); the large capitals of travertine belong possibly to the upper story of the Tabularium (which according to this would have been of the Corinthian order, and not of the Ionic, as given in fig. 39).

Descending into the narrow passage which is all that is left of the originally much larger space between the substructure of the portico and the temple of Vespasian, we see on the left seven chambers (*tabernae*) made of brick, with wide entrance doors. Formerly they were wrongly called the *Schola Xantha* (see above p. 69): the correct name and the purpose of the rooms is not known. On the right are to be seen the foundations of the temple of Vespasian, huge blocks of tufa and travertine very accurately laid. The end of the passage-way is formed by the massive substructures of the Tabularium on the Capitoline: one can see how one entrance door of the Tabularium was blocked up by the building of the temple of Vespasian.

XII. The **Temple of Vespasian and Titus.** The temple of Vespasian was probably vowed and begun soon after the consecration of that emperor, but it was not completed until after the death of Titus (81), and was accordingly dedicated to him as well. It was a Corinthian prostyle with six columns in the front: since the space between the Tabularium and the Clivus Capitolinus was rather narrow, the steps which led up to the entrance were in large part cut in between the foundations of the columns. The inscription on the architrave was still complete in the 7th century:

DIVO VESPASIANO AVGVSTO S . P . Q . R .
IMPP . CAESS . SEVERVS ET ANTONINVS PII FELICES AVGG . RESTITVER*unt*

but only the end of the last word has been preserved. One can still see that originally only the upper band of the architrave was inscribed, and that in connection with the restoration by Severus it was united with the lower band by a poorly executed cornice so as to afford space for the larger inscription. The frieze of the side façade (fig. 40) is decorated with the insignia of the priest – the cap (*apex*), the sprinkler, the pitcher,

the sacrificial knife, the saucer, the ladle, the axe – carried out in fine detail. On account of the elevated position of the originals and

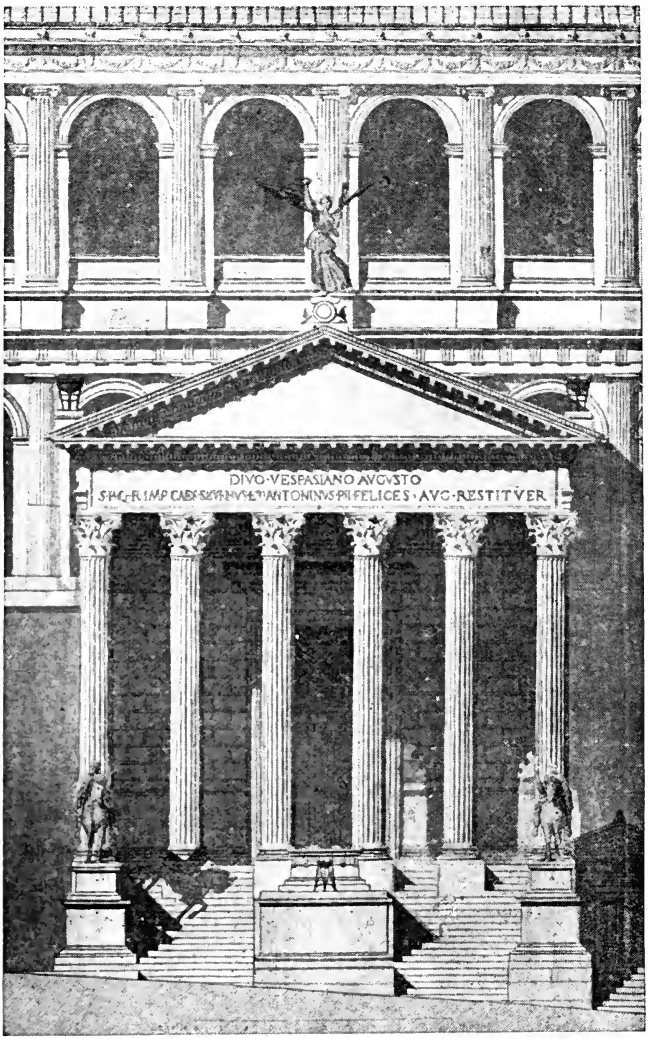


Fig. 39. The temple of Vespasian, with the Tabularium behind.

their unfavourable light one can judge of the fineness of the work better by studying the cast in the Tabularium, made by Valadier and restored by him with the help of ancient fragments. Against

the rear wall of the Cella is preserved the base for the statues of the two Divi seated on thrones. The ruin, which after the 16th century, was buried in débris up to the capitals of the columns (see fig. 12), was excavated in 1811–1812 under the direction of Valadier (see fig. 41). At that time the foundations of the columns, which had suffered greatly, were almost entirely restored.

In the hollow between the temple of Vespasian and the temple of Concord there lies a small brick building the rear wall of

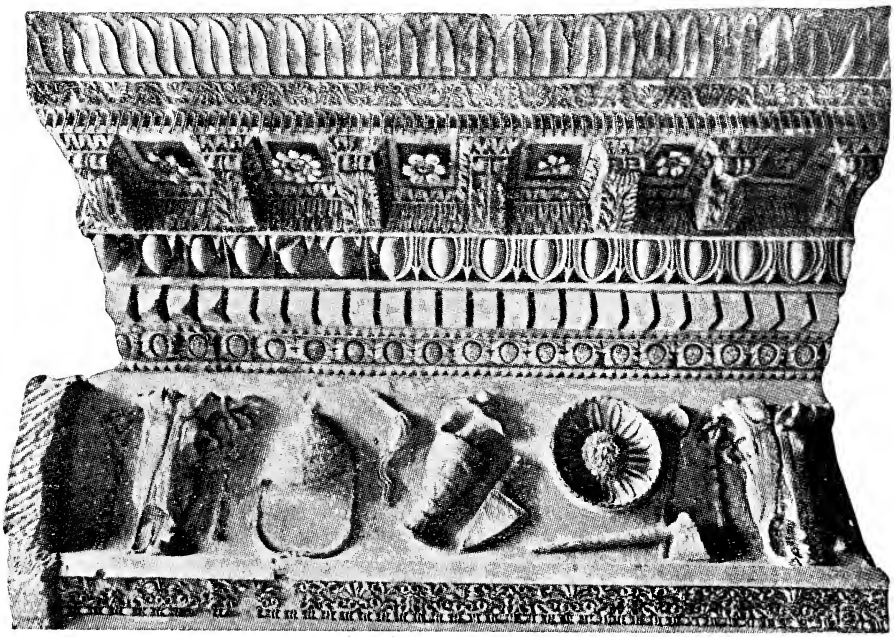


Fig. 40. Cornice o the temple of Vespasian.

which rests against the Tabularium. In this was found a marble base with a dedicatory inscription to the Diva Pia Faustina (wife of Marcus Aurelius), which was erected by the subordinate officials in the finance department (*viatores quaestorii ab aerario Saturni*), who possibly had their bureau (*schola*) here.

XIII. The **Temple of Concord.** The temple of Concord was dedicated by the dictator Marcus Furius Camillus after the settling of the century-long contest between the patricians and the ple-

beians, in B. C. 366. The dimensions of the original building can be roughly estimated owing to the fact that the Tabularium, erected in the time of Sulla, was built with regard to the extent of the temple of Concord: the northern part of the great substructure of the Tabularium was made without windows because the

Fig. 41. Excavation near the temple of Vespasian in 1812.

rear wall of the temple rested against it. Accordingly it is possible that the old temple of Concord was a rectangular structure 49 ft. by 82 ft. After the death of C. Gracchus (B. C. 121) the temple was restored by L. Opimius. Tiberius began B. C. 7 a second restoration and dedicated it January 16th, A. D. 10. The Tabularium prevented Tiberius from enlarging his temple toward the rear, and the Clivus Capitolinus offered an insurmountable obstacle against the enlargement of it toward the front; accordingly he made the cella broader right and left so that it was now about twice as wide as it was long. The ground plan of this building is pre-

served to us on the Forma Urbis Romae (see above p. 22, fig. 5). In the late empire the temple was again restored, and the façade with the inscription: *S. P. Q. R. aedem Concordiae vetustate conlapsam in meliorem faciem opere et cultu splendidiore restituerunt*, was still standing in the VII. century A. D.

In addition to the steps leading up to the vestibule, which are at least in part cut into the tufa of the Capitoline, there has

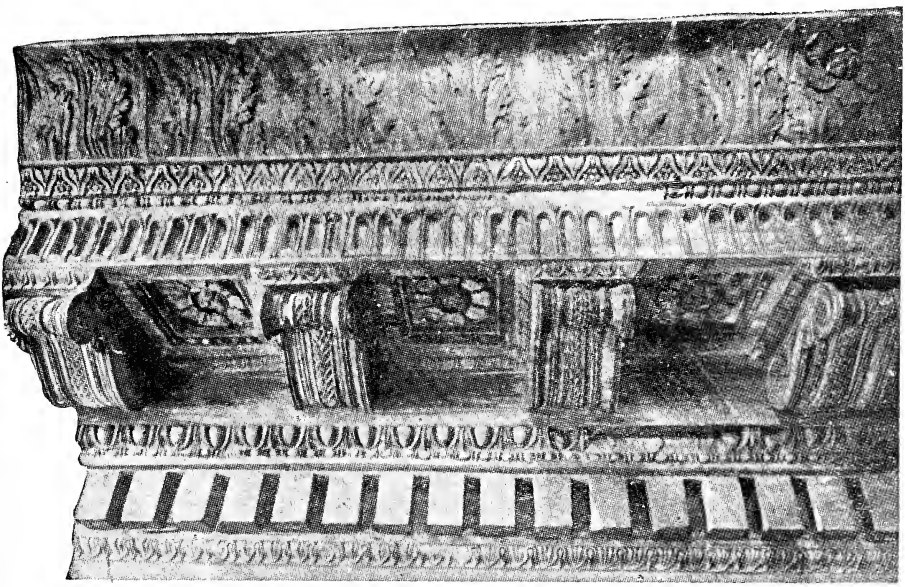


Fig. 42. Cornice of the temple of Concordia.

been preserved the threshold of the cella, a colossal block of Portasanta marble, ornamented by a bronze wand of Mercury (*caduceus*) set lengthwise into the surface of the stone. The cella itself was splendidly decorated; in 1817 at the time of the excavation very considerable remains of the pavement and the covering of the walls were found — costly variegated marbles, which have however since disappeared. In the cella were found several marble bases (at present in the Capitoline museum), which were dedicated to Concordia by high officials *pro salute Tiberii*: according to the inscriptions, statues of precious metal (5 lbs. of gold, 25 lbs. of silver) stood upon them. Ancient writers too speak of the costly furnishings of the temple: Tiberius seems to have made it into a veri-

table museum of Greek art. In the time of Pliny the Elder the cella contained sculptures by Baton, Euphranor, Nikeratos, ans Piston, and paintings by Nikias, Theoros, and Zeuxis. Augustud dedicated among other things four elephants of obsidian; and among the curiosities the ring of Polykrates of Samos was exhibited. In the vestibule of the temple sessions of the senate were held down into the late empire; and the Arval brothers and other colleges of priests met here for the performance of sacrifices and various ceremonial acts.

Resuming our interrupted circuit of the Forum we go through the S. opening of the arch of Severus, and down the flight of steps and along the front of the Rostra to the Comitium. On the way we pass several monuments from the late empire: the column of Phocas, the base of Diocletian, and two honorary monuments from the time of Honorius.

XIV. The **Column of Phocas.** A square foundation of brick supports a marble base upon which rises a column (44 ft. 7 in. high and 4 ft. 5 in. in diameter) of white marble with a Corinthian capital. The inscription on the north side of the base informs us that the Exarch Smaragdus, on August 1st, A. D. 608, erected on this column "a dazzling golden statue of His Majesty, our lord Phocas, the eternal emperor, the triumphator crowned of God, in return for countless good deeds, for the establishing of peace in Italy, and for the preservation of freedom".

Phocas, a man of the lowest birth, was proclaimed emperor in A. D. 602 by the Byzantine army on the Danube, in which he was serving as centurion. By slaying his predecessor Mauricius, and the latters five sons he assured the throne to himself, and thereupon proceeded to disgrace his position by cruelty and excesses of every sort. In spite of this he was acknowledged as emperor at Rome, where any change in the rule seemed to offer the possibility

of betterment, harrassed as the city was by attacks of barbarians, strife among her own people, and destructive outbreaks of nature. The letter in which Pope Gregory the Great welcomes the usurper to the throne begins with the words: "We rejoice that your gentleness and piety have been raised to the imperial throne. May the heavens be filled with joy, and the earth exult, because throughout the whole empire the people, who were just now so full of sorrow, are glad once more" etc. In one solitary respect Phocas did good to Rome: he gave the Pantheon to Pope Boniface IV., who on May 13th A. D. 609 dedicated it as a church of all the martyrs. In October 610 Phocas was dethroned by treachery and put to death with fearful tortures; the statues of the usurper, whose repulsive ugliness (small deformed body, red hair, long bushy eyebrows grown in together, a terrible scar which disfigured and discoloured his cheek) is most graphically described by contemporary writers, were everywhere overthrown.

The monument itself was not erected by Smaragdus; it is however probably not older than the IV.–V. centuries A. D., and was at that time made of the spoils of older buildings. Judged by their style the column and the capital seem to belong to the second century A. D. An addition from the very latest period is the pyramid of steps, for the construction of which many of the surrounding monuments were compelled to furnish material. Two of the sides of this pyramid were demolished in 1903: on this occasion, the latter part of the inscription of the praetor Naevius Surdinus (see p. 147) was laid bare.

XV. The **Monuments of Diocletian and Honorius.** Not far from the *Rostra Vandalica* in the direction of the *Niger Lapis* is a square base of white marble covered on all four sides with reliefs: on one side are trophies and representations of Victoria, and between them a shield with the inscription: *Caesarum decennalia feliciter*; on the second side the animals slain in the solemn state sacri-

fice of the *Suovetaurilia* (pig, sheep, steer) being led to the altar; on the third side the emperor (the head apparently intentionally destroyed) sacrificing to Roma and Mars; on the fourth side a procession of nine men clad in the toga. The base was found in 1547 in front of the church of S. Adriano: on the same spot about 1500 a similar base, now lost, was found bearing the inscription *Augustorum vicennalia feliciter*. These bases supported colossal columns, and were probably erected in front of the Curia in A. D. 303 in celebration of the twentieth, respectively tenth, anniversary of the reign of Diocletian and his fellow-rulers. It is very interesting to compare the representation of the sacrificial animals on this base of Diocletian with the corresponding representation on the balustrade of Trajan not far distant. The comparison shows the rapid decline of Roman sculpture in the course of not quite two hundred years.

Several blocks of marble near this monument of Diocletian belong to a monument from the time of Honorius and Arcadius which was excavated here in 1549. It is a large base for a quadriga, with a vainglorious inscription celebrating the conquest of the rebel Gildo in Africa (386–398) by the emperor's great general Stilicho. This monument, in an almost perfect state of preservation, fell into the hands of the Farnese, who had it sawed up "for modern works of art". One piece only was preserved in the Farnese collection of antiquities, and taken afterwards to the Museum in Naples; from there it was returned to the Forum in the Autumn of 1908. Another small piece, left behind in the Forum in 1547, was brought to light again by the recent excavations. The copies made by the epigraphists of the Renaissance enable us to restore the text as follows (the letters in italics are now missing):

*imp*E R A T*oribus invictissimis felicissimisque*
*dd·n*N·ARCA*dio et honorio·fratribus*
S E N A*tus populusque Romanus*
*v*I N D I*cata·re*BELL*ione*
*e*T · A F*ricae re*S TIT*utione laetus·*

" To our lords, the brothers Arcadius and Honorius, the most invincible and fortunate, the Senate and People of Rome, rejoicing in the vanquishing of the rebels, and in the restitution of Africa ". The rejoicing of the Roman people had a very natural reason, inasmuch as Africa was at this period the main granary for the capital. — To the same monument belong two pieces of a metrical inscription lately excavated:

a]rmipotens Liby[c]um defendit Honoriu[s orbem (?)

possibly a verse from the poet Claudianus, who refers to the monument in his poem *de sexto consulatu Honorii.*

Farther to the right, at the edge of the excavation of the Lapis Niger, stands a tall marble block. According to the inscription (on the side toward the Curia) it formed part of a monument which was erected by the senate and the people in the reign of Honorius and Arcadius " in honour of the fidelity and valour of the most devoted troops ", on account of a victory over the Goths won under the command of a *vir illustris.* The name of the commanding general is purposely erased, but it must have been Stilicho; and the monument refers to the battle at Pollentia A. D. 403, where Stilicho drove back Radagaisus and his hordes, and once again saved throne and land for the emperor. Soon after this time Stilicho came into disfavour, and was treacherously murdered (A. D. 408) at the command of Honorius, and his name was erased from all public monuments. Two years later Rome was captured and plundered by Alaric and his Goths. — It is characteristic of the wretched means which

in this late time were at the disposal of the authorities for the erection of even important monuments, that the inscription is engraved on the side of a block which had already been used. Originally it was employed to support an equestrian statue, and the holes by which this was fastened may still be seen on what is at present the left side.

XVI. The **marble balustrades of Trajan.** The two marble balustrades with reliefs (*anaglypha*) on both

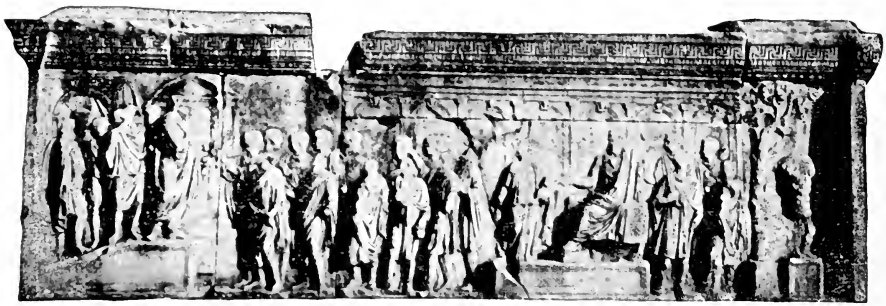


Fig. 43. Marble balustrade from the Rostra.

sides were found on the site where they are now standing, very roughly set up on blocks of travertine which had been used once before (the base-tables of white marble are a modern addition). Evidently this cannot have been the original arrangement; but they were brought here in very late antiquity to serve as the sides of a foundation like the brick bases opposite the Basilica Julia. When they were thus set up a second time the reliefs with historical scenes faced the outside, and those with the animals faced inwards. The two balustrades were then connected at the ends by carelessly built walls, and thus a rough square was formed and the inside was filled up with rubbish. Thus it happens that the reliefs with the animals have been preserved with

a wonderful degree of freshness, while the reliefs with historical scenes have suffered very much more, since they were exposed for centuries to all the influences of the weather and all the destruction at the hand of man.

On what is now the inner side we see the pig, the sheep, and the steer, the animals offered in the solemn state sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia, adorned with sacrificial fillets (*vittae*) on the horns and around the body. Such Suovetaurilia were offered at the cerimony of puri-

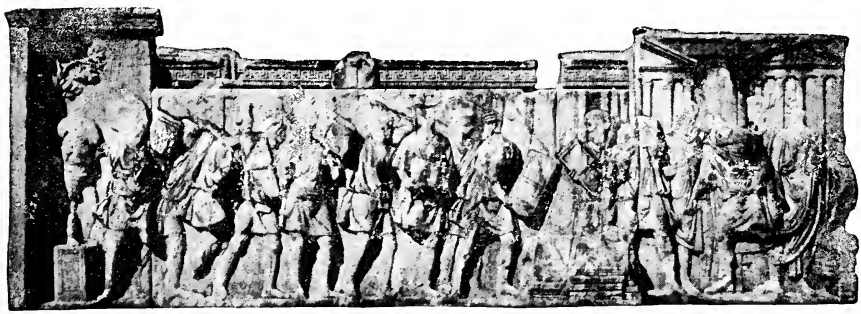


Fig. 44. Marble balustrade from the Rostra.

fication (*lustrum*) for the people at the close of the census, and for the army at the beginning of a campaign, probably also in connection with the founding of temples and on other solemn occasions. At these times the three sacrifical animals were led around the assembly of the people or the place which was to be purified, and were then sacrificed.

The two reliefs which at present face outwards represent two state acts of Trajan. On the first — the one which faces the arch of Severus — is to be seen the emperor on the Rostra (represented by the beaks of three ships); behind him are his suite and the lictors (with the bundles of rods without axes). The emperor, clad in the toga, is addressing the populace standing in

front of the Rostra. The costume of his audience is the garment characteristic of the Romans plebeians, the *paenula*, a short cloak reaching to the knee. The assembly are raising their hands, apparently to applaud the emperor for what he is announcing. The contents of the speech have been indicated by the artist in a way which would be immediately understood by his contemporaries — namely by a group characterized as statuary by being set on a low base. This group represents the emperor seated in a curule chair, while a women approaches him carrying one child on her arm and leading another by the hand: it is Italia, who is thanking the emperor for a charitable foundation by means of which he had provided for the support of the children of the land. In A. D. 101 Trajan invested large sums of money in mortgages (on the farms, *fundi*) in all the towns of Italy, the interest of which should be used in every parish for the bringing up of poor children. There are still in existence original documents, large bronze tablets, relating to this benefaction (*institutio alimentaria*), one from Veleia (now in the museum at Parma) and one from the parish of the Ligures Baebiani not far from Benevento (now in the National Museum at Rome). Both of them bear witness not only to the care which was taken in the investment of the capital but also to the generous amount of the sums invested. When to two relatively small parishes like Veleia and the Ligures Baebiani 1,044,000, respectively 401,800 sesterces (circa 260,000, respectively 100,500 francs) were assigned, the expense for the whole of Italy must have run up into many hundred millions. This splendid benefaction not only encouraged marriage, by assisting parents and caring for orphans, but also helped the small property owners by lending them money on their farms at a low rate of interest and for

an indefinite period. It is readily intelligible therefore that the Emperor's action made a deep impression upon contemporaries. The writers of the day speak of it in the highest terms, coins were struck in remembrance of it, and on the Forum Romanum, where the proclamation took place, the event was immortalized not only in this relief on the balustrade, but also by the erection of a group of statuary.

The second relief is incomplete, on account of the loss of the first slab at the right: one sees however that here too the Rostra was represented. The emperor, seated and with his right hand stretched out, is giving a command to a high official. His command relates to the setting fire to a heap of *diptycha*, that is to say wooden tablets covered with wax, which the Romans used for business papers, statements of endebtedness, etc. These *diptycha* are being collected together by men in half-military costume (notice especially the military boot *caliga* with its complicated leather lacing, and also the sword-girdle, *cingulum militiae*, with its metal tips): the men are public servants (*apparitores* or possibly *statores*), and they are bringing official documents, probably obligations of indebtedness. It is likely therefore that the relief represents the cancelling of arrears of taxes for the provincials (Italy itself was free from taxes under the empire). Accordingly the historical scenes on the two balustrades present a remarkable parallelism: on the one the emperor is celebrated as the benefactor of Italy, on the other as the benefactor of the provinces.

Just as the historical scenes represented stand in a parallel relation, so the backgrounds of buildings in front of which they take place complement each other. Both of them together give an almost complete panorama of the Forum Romanum, as it was at the beginning of the second century A. D. On the second

balustrade we see: the temple of Vespasian (the temple of Concordia was probably on she first slab, which has been lost) with six Corinthian columns; the temple of Saturn with six Ionic columns; between these temples, high up, an arch probably intended to indicate the Tabularium; farther on, a large hall, the Basilica Julia. The figure of a Satyr with a wine-skin on his shoulder closes tbe scene on the left-hand side: this is Marsyas, whose statue, booty from a Greek city, stood in the midst of the Forum near the *Tribunal Praetorium*: beside him is a sacred fig-tree fenced in (see below p. 149). The same group, Marsyas and the fig-tree, we find at the right end of the first balustrade: then follows a large portico, corresponding to the one on the other balustrade: this is the Basilica Aemilia; then a broad street, the Argiletum (between the Basilica and the Curia); then a temple-like structure with a flight of steps in front (the Curia before its reconstruction by Diocletian); finally an arch which has not been identified, and which was probably destroyed in the alterations by Severus, and in front of the arch the Rostra again. The two monuments which are repeated — the Rostra and Marsyas — show that the two reliefs were intended to be joined together to form a complete circle; and yet of the buildings which surrounded the Forum we miss two, the temple of Caesar and the temple of Castor, that is to say the east side.

What at first sight seems a striking omission is to be explained most easily by the original position of the two balustrades. They stood namely as balustrades on the platform of the Rostra, and in such a position that the historical reliefs were on the inside and the sacrificial animals on the outside. Thus the difference in scale between the two sets of scenes is readly understood: the animal reliefs were visible only

from the level of the Forum, that is to say from a distance of 12 or 15 feet, while the historical reliefs were seen close to. If the first balustrade (fig. 43) stood to the left of the speaker, the representation of the north side of the Forum which it contained was in exact agreement with the actual position of the buildings; similarly, if the second balustrade (fig. 44) stood to the right of the speaker, the monuments which it represented, those of the west and the south side of the Forum, lay actually on the right–hand side and behind the speaker. The east side, that which is not represented, is exactly the side which the speaker on the Rostra had before his eyes. The sacrificial animals, which are represented as passing in solemn procession around the outside of the monument, may be considered as symbolic of a perpetual *lustratio*, a purification and dedication of the Rostra.

XVII. The **Lapis Niger and the Grave of Romulus.** On the boundary–line between the Forum and the Comitium there lies, at present protected by an iron roof (see fig. 46, and 47, which shows the monument as it was in 1900, before it was covered by the roof), a square of black marble slabs fenced in by a wall of white marble. The surface of the black pavement has been injured in several places and patched together, for example with a piece of an inscription, but the patching has been done with great care. Its orientation agrees with that of the Curia of Caesar and Diocletian, and it is situated almost exactly in front of the entrance to this Curia. Immediately upon the discovery of this pavement it was brought into connection with a group of monuments, the existence of which in the Comitium is mentioned by writers of the late republic and the early empire.

"The black stone in the Comitium", says the antiquarian Pompeius Festus (whose work is an abridgement of a larger one by Verrius Flaccus, the contemporary of Augustus), "marks an unlucky spot: according to some it was intended to serve as the grave of Romulus, but this intention was not carried out, and in place of Romulus his foster-father Faustulus was buried; according to

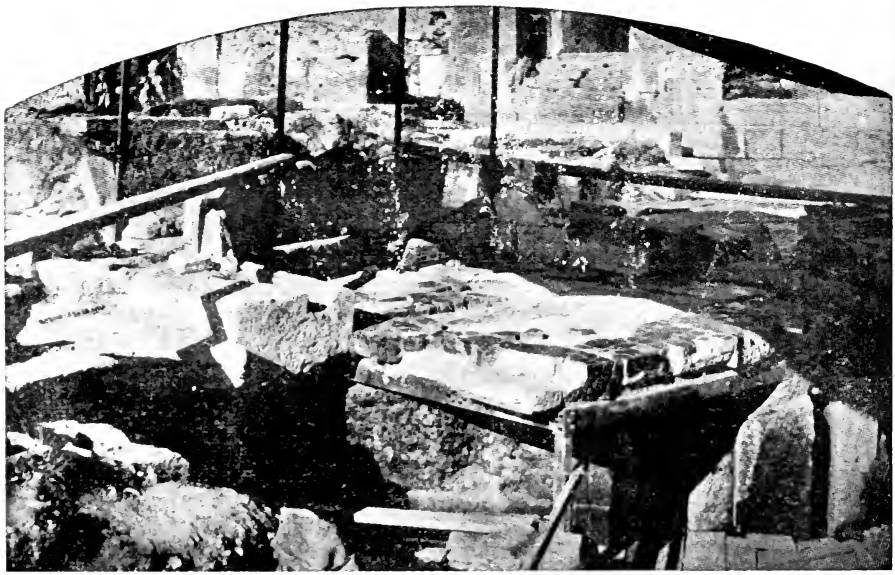


Fig. 45. Lapis niger.

others it was the grave of Hostus Hostilius, the father of the third king Tullus Hostilius". Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who wrote in the time of Augustus, states that "many people think that the stone lion, which was situated in the noblest place in the Roman Forum, close by the Rostra, was a monument for Faustulus, who was buried on the spot where he fell in battle". The same author repeats in another place the other explanation, namely that "Hostus Hostilius was buried in the noblest place in the Forum, and received a memorial stone (*stele*) with an inscription which praised his virtues". Finally the old commentators on Horace remark: "most people say

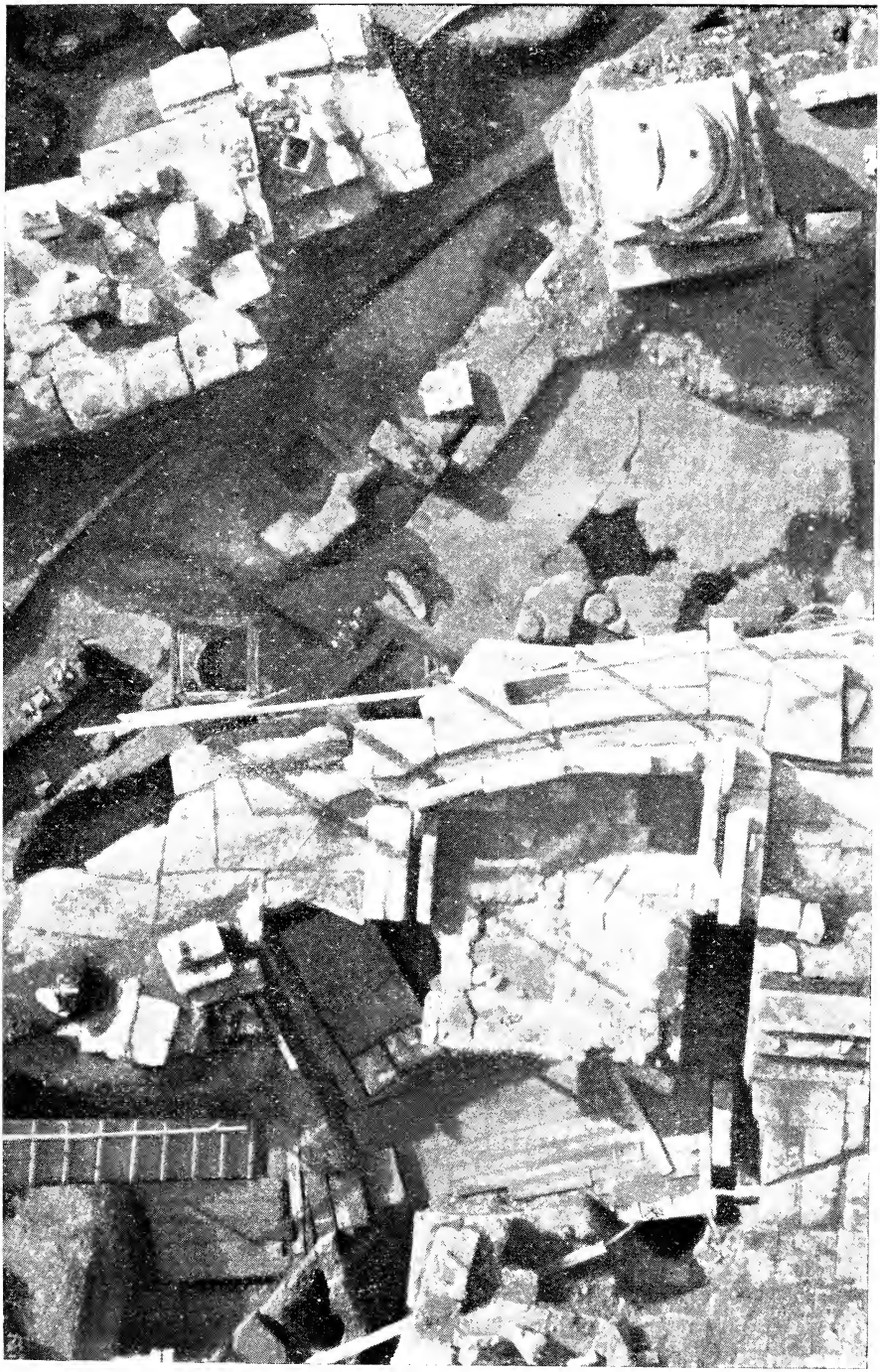


Fig. 46. The Lapis niger area from the

[in another passage Varro is mentioned by name] that Romulus was buried close to [in front of or behind] the Rostra, and that

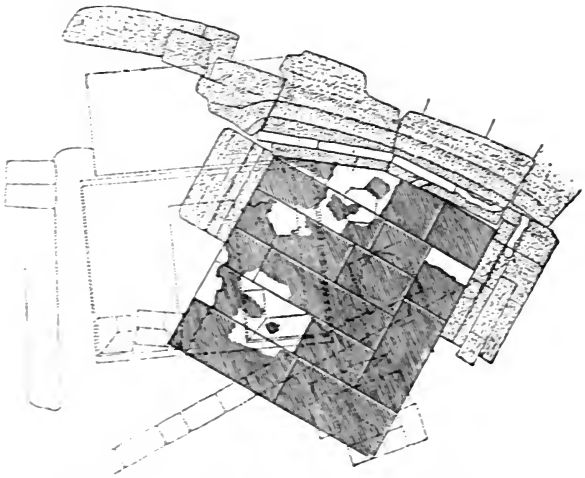


Fig. 47. The upper layer of the Lapis niger.

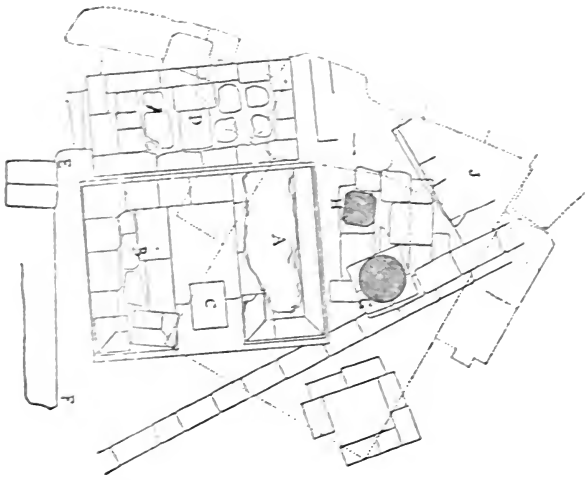


Fig. 48. The lower layer of the Lapis niger.

this was the reason that the two lions were placed there, just as they may be seen to-day guarding graves".

On the level of the Julian–Augustan pavement we have to be sure instead of a " black stone " a black pavement of marble blocks, and we find no traces of lions as guardians or of a stele with an ancient inscription. However, by digging deeper, there was discovered above five feet lower a group of monuments of very ancient time, which were covered over in late antiquity and in part purposely destroyed.

In the first place, covered only in part by the black pavement are to be seen two bases of tufa (fig. 48 *A B*)

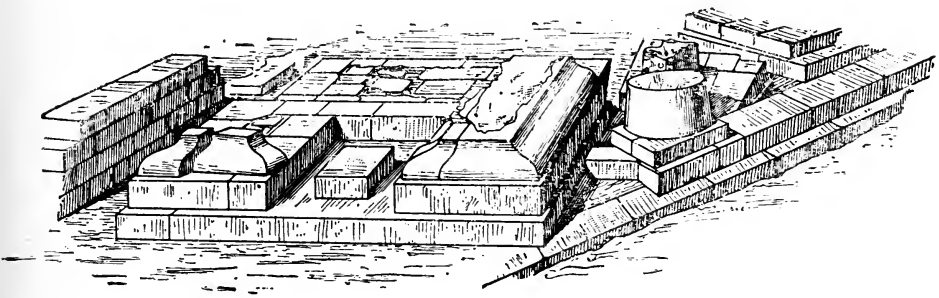


Fig. 49. The " Sacellum " and the archaic Stele.

which seem especially appropriate for two reclining statues of lions. Between the two bases there lies (possibly not in its original position) a single block of stone (*C*). Behind, the two bases run against a foundation (*D*) which has not as yet been more closely investigated: the suggestion, which has recently been made, that this foundation represents the speaker's platform of the republican Rostra is impossible on account of the smallness of the dimensions (5 $^1/_2$ ft. $\times$ 11 $^1/_2$ ft.). This shrine, a ' sacellum ', is usually considered identical with the ' grave of Romulus ' mentioned by ancient writers; some scholars think that on the single block of stone (*C*) stood the ' black stone ', perhaps as in the case of

Etruscan graves a conical block of black vulcanic substance.

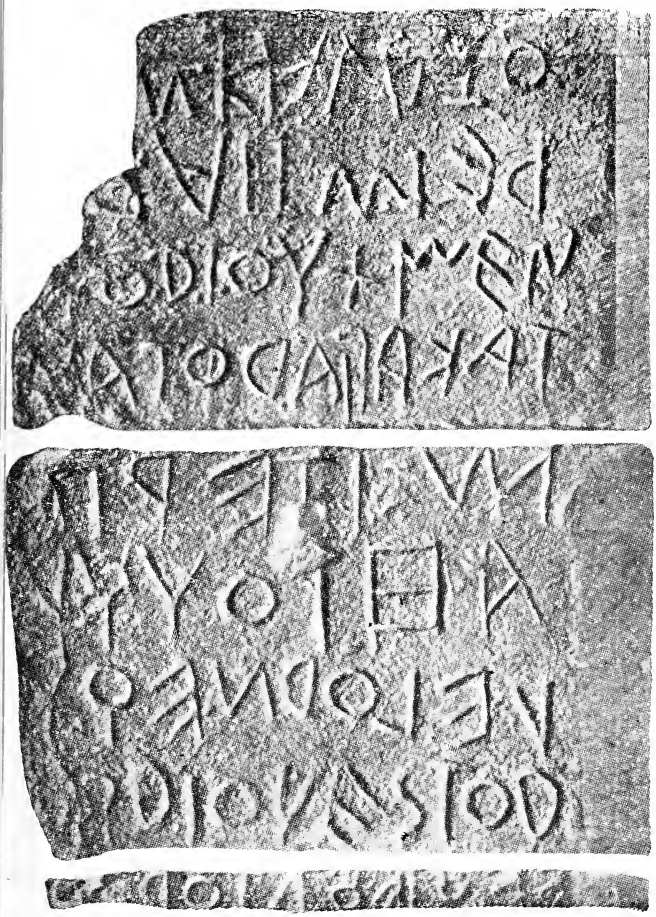
Behind the ' sacellum ', under the black pavement, stands the mutilated trunk of a round column of tufa (*G*);

1. *quoiho...*
2. *sakros es–*
3. *ed sor...*
4. *...iasias*
5. *recei l...*
6. *...evam*
7. *quos r...*

Fig. 50. Inscription on the archaic Stele.

further behind in the darkness (the custodian provides a candle) is a rectangular stele (*H*) covered with inscriptions on all four faces. The writing goes from the top down and from the bottom up (vertical *bustrophedon*): fig. 50 and 51 show the lines of writing horizontal in order that they may be more easily legible.

The letters show greater resemblance to the Greek alphabet than those of any other Latin inscription (it is in this inscription only that R still has the form P):



8. *m kalato–*

9. *rem hap...*

10. *...iod iouxmen–*

11. *ta kapia dota v...*

15. *m ite ri*

14. *quoiha–*

13. *(d)uelod nequ...*

12. *...od iovestod*

16. *loiquiod...*

Fig. 51. Inscription on the archaic Stele.

among all the inscriptions preserved on stone it is certainly the oldest, and is not later than the fifth century B. C. Unfortunately the content is up to the present almost entirely unknown, and inasmuch as the

lines are preserved in scarcely half their length, and possibly in only a third, the future promises little for their deciphering. This much however is known, that mention is made of a *rex*, — whether this be the real king of Rome or his shadow-like successor of republican times the *rex sacrorum*, — further of *iouxmenta*, that is to say wagons and animals to draw them, and of a public servant *kalator*. Finally the end of one sentence is still preserved: *sakros esed* = *sacer esto* (*sit*), according to which it is probable that we have before us a *lex sacrata*: and for that matter in so ancient a time scarcely anything else would have been engraved on stone. The *rex* (and later the *rex sacrorum*) had business in the Comitium especially on three days in the year, February 24th, March 24th, and May 24th (see above p. 6); and it is at least conceivable that the *lex* had to do with the holy ceremonies to be performed by him, and that the privilege was granted him of appearing with his servant in the Comitium in a wagon, although wagons were otherwise forbidden there, and whoever broke this law was delivered over to the deity for punishment. But a genuine restoration of the inscription is impossible.

Fig. 52. Small bone figures found near the "Sacellum".

When the 'sacellum' was excavated the plinths of the bases were found packed in a layer of gravel which had been purposely brought there: in this layer were numerous dedicatory gifts, small idols of clay, bone, and bronze, pieces of terracotta bas-reliefs, fragments of vases, bones from animal sacrifices etc.; these are

all stored at present in the *magazzino* of the excavations (plan I *m*). These objects too come mainly from very ancient times (VIII.–VI. centuries B. C.).

It is still a mooted question at what date this old sanctuary was destroyed and at what date it was entirely covered over. Some scholars consider that the first destruction took place as early as the invasion of the Gauls (B. C., 390), and that the final covering over and the laying of the black pavement occurred in the time of Caesar or Augustus; others believe that as late as the time of Varro the lower group was still completely visible, and that the black pavement was laid in the time of the late empire as a memorial for the grave of Romulus which had long since disappeared. The settlement of this and of many other disputed points may be expected from the continuance of the excavations.

Under the right-hand corner of the black pavement is a rectangular well-like structure, made of slabs of tufa, the mouth of which is on a level with the Comitium of Julius Caesar and Augustus; a similar but pentagonal well is found on the right-hand side at the entrance to the excavation. The meaning of these constructions, and of similar ones in front of the Rostra, along the Sacra Via in front of the Basilica Julia and elsewhere, is uncertain. The name ' ritual wells ' (*pozzi rituali*) is unfounded, at least for the majority of them; and it seems much more likely that they served some practical purpose (drainage).

XVIII. The **Comitium.** The space between the Lapis Niger and S. Adriano is the last remnant of the old Comitium. The greater part of it was paved with slabs of travertine, under which many tufa remains of a very ancient character have come to light. Among these remains the most notable is a large curved foundation (marked in red on plan V) of blocks of brown tufa which

can be traced from the east side of the Sacellum (near *a*) to the edge of the marble pavement in front of S. Adriano (near *b*). It belonged to a building which was destroyed in connection with the alterations of the Forum carried out by Julius Caesar and Augustus. At that time the circle was broken into in several places by the well-like shafts (mentioned above) made of large slabs of tufa (I, II, pl. V). Parallel to this curved foundation and about thirty feet further toward the west runs a drain (*c, d, e*, pl. V) with walls of good *opus reticulatum*, which seems to have been built about the time of Sulla. Possibly the Rostra of the latest Republican period lay between this drain and the circular foundation. This Rostra, as the coin of Palicanus shows (see fig. 53), had a curved front. The remains of steps built of small tufa blocks, which are preserved at a lower level than this curved foundation (marked in black on plan V) may possibly in that case belong to the Rostra of the old republic. Of equally archaic appearance is a wall of small flat block of tufa, which has come to light between these foundations and the entrance to the Lapis Niger (*g, h, i*, pl. V). It has been incorrectly thought that this wall formed a boundary between the Comitium and the Forum.

Fig. 53. Coin representing the Rostra before the time of Augustus.

In front of the flight of steps leading to the Curia is a pavement of marble; on the boundary between this marble pavement and the pavement of travertine is to be seen a marble basin having the shape of a platter, which was the lower part of a fountain, as is proved by the traces left by the action of water. In the middle of this basin a space is left for an octagonal base upon which a high cup-shaped vessel (*cantharus*) stood. The

whole construction dates from very late times, possibly from the fifth century.

At the edge of the excavations on the side toward the Basilica Aemilia are several large square marble bases. One of them (*l*, pl. V) bears a large honorary inscription, which was erected in honour of the emperor Constantius by the city-prefect Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus between 356 and 359 A. D. The surface of the others (*m*, *n*) appears to have been intentionally destroyed, but certain traces show that the dedicant was the same city-prefect. One of the inscriptions was probably in honour of the later emperor Julian (the Apostate).

On the other side of the excavation (at *f*, pl. I and V) is a large marble base with inscriptions on all four sides. Originally it supported a statue of Antoninus Pius which was dedicated on August 1st, A. D. 154 by the heads of the Roman guild of carpenters (*collegium fabrum tignuariorum*): the date on the back and the long list of names on the left-hand side are connected with this original use of the base. Later the base was used to support a monument, probably a group in bronze, which the emperor Maxentius dedicated to the founders of the city, Romulus and Remus, and their father Mars, on April 21st A. D. 308, the anniversary of Rome's foundation. It is a plausible suggestion that this group stood upon the " black pavement ", which was renewed in remembrance of the " grave of Romulus ".

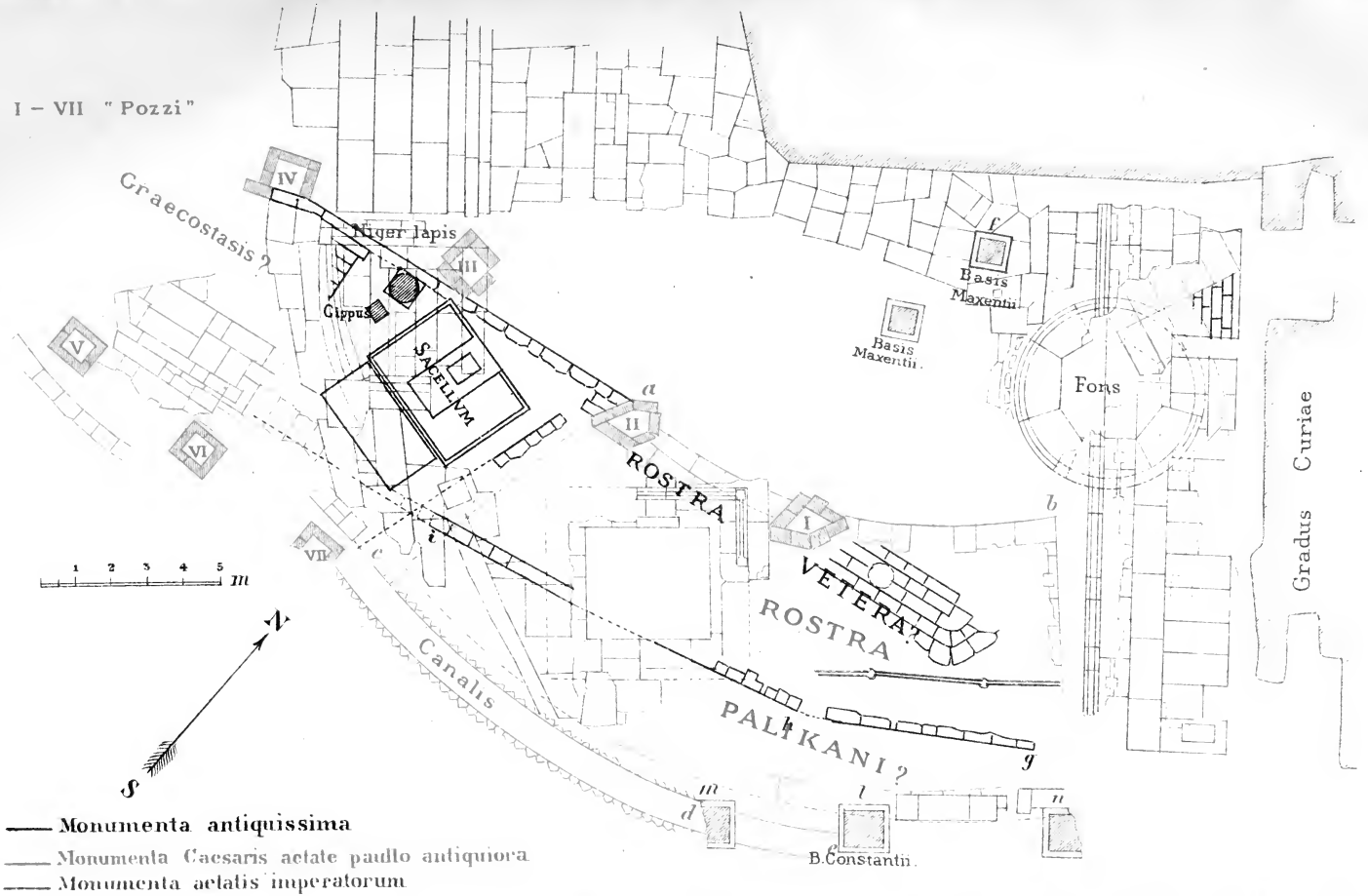
The three marble steps which extend eastward from the " black stone " in the direction of the arch of Severus belong to a very late (mediaeval?) construction. In front of the right side-entrance of the arch, there stands on the travertine pavement (near *e*) the base of an equestrian statue, which according to the inscription was erected in honour of the emperor Constantius by the City Prefect Neratius Cerealis (352–353). In this inscription the

emperor is celebrated as *restitutor urbis et orbis, exstinctor pestiferae tyrannidis*: this last refers to the conquest of the rival emperor Magnentius (352).

XIX. The **Curia Julia.** The church of S. Adriano, with its bald façade of brick, corresponds to the main room in the senate-house of the Empire, the Curia Julia. The Curia Julia, constructed by the Dictator Caesar in place of the old Curia Hostilia which lay further north (see above p. 18), occupied the largest part of the old republican Comitium. A coin of Augustus, struck between 35 and 28 B. C. (see fig. 54), shows the façade of the building, resembling a temple with a portico and an high pediment. The Curia has a similar form on the Anaglypha of Trajan (see fig. 43 and p. 104): there it is represented as a temple with a portico and a flight of steps in front. Caesar's structure consisted of the large assembly-room, the *Curia* in the more specific sense of the word, and a smaller room for secret sessions or for the sitting of Committees (*secretarium senatus*): this latter room is now the church of S. Martina (see above p. 28). In antiquity both buildings formed one whole, and as late as the beginning of the XVI. century there existed between the churches a courtyard with columns, and behind the church of S. Adriano there were various other rooms: either the courtyard or one of these rooms must be identified with the *Chalcidicum*, which Augustus in the Monumentum Ancyranum calls "an annex to the Curia".

Fig. 54. Coin of Augustus (on the frieze *Imp. Caesar*).

Caesar did not live to see the completion of the building, and it was dedicated by Augustus in B. C. 29. He chose as patron-



G. Tognetti ril e dis.

Stab. A. Mart. Roma

goddess Victoria, whose altar with a golden statue of the goddess was placed in the main room. Domitian restored the building and dedicated a chapel to his patron-goddess Minerva; possibly this was in the *Chalcidicum* of Augustus, which for this reason was given the additional name of the *Atrium Minervae*. The building was severely injured by a fire in the reign of Carinus (283), but it was restored by Diocletian, and at that time took the shape in which we now see it. Possibly it was dedicated in A. D. 303 in connection with the jubilee of the reign of the emperor and his fellow-rulers, and at that time the two colossal columns, mentioned above (p. 97 f.), may have been erected. A few years later the Prefect of the City Junius Flavianus (311) restored the Secretarium. At the close of the fourth century the altar of Victoria was the subject of a bitter strife between the Christian and the heathen party in the senate (see p. 25). When Alaric captured Rome (410), the whole north side of the Forum was devastated by fire: the Prefect of the City Flavius Annius Eucharius Epiphanius restored the Secretarium in 412, as we learn from a monumental inscription preserved in the apse of the old church of S. Martina down into the XVII. century. Even in the time of Theodoric the building served for the sessions of the shadowy "senate"; the name 'Liberty-court' (*Atrium Libertatis*), which was given it at this time instead of the classic 'Curia', was derived from an entirely distinct building in the neighbourhood. But when in its turn the kingdom of the Goths had fallen, the senate house was abandoned: in the middle of the VII. century the two churches of S. Adriano and S. Martina were built in it, and it is to this that we owe all that is left of the Curia. At the beginning of the XVI. century, in connection with a projected alteration of both churches, which however was never carried out, A. da Sangallo, the elder, and Peruzzi made important studies of the remains that were preserved. Many old parts were destroyed when the Via Bonella was built, in the reign of Sixtus V (1585-90); and still others in connection with the restoration of S. Martina by Pietro da Cortona (1640). At that time the floor of the church was raised a whole story above the level of the mediaeval structure, which now serves as a crypt for the modern church.

In front of the Curia is a space paved with marble (see above p. 114), on the outer side of which traces of the fence are yet to be seen by which the Curia was

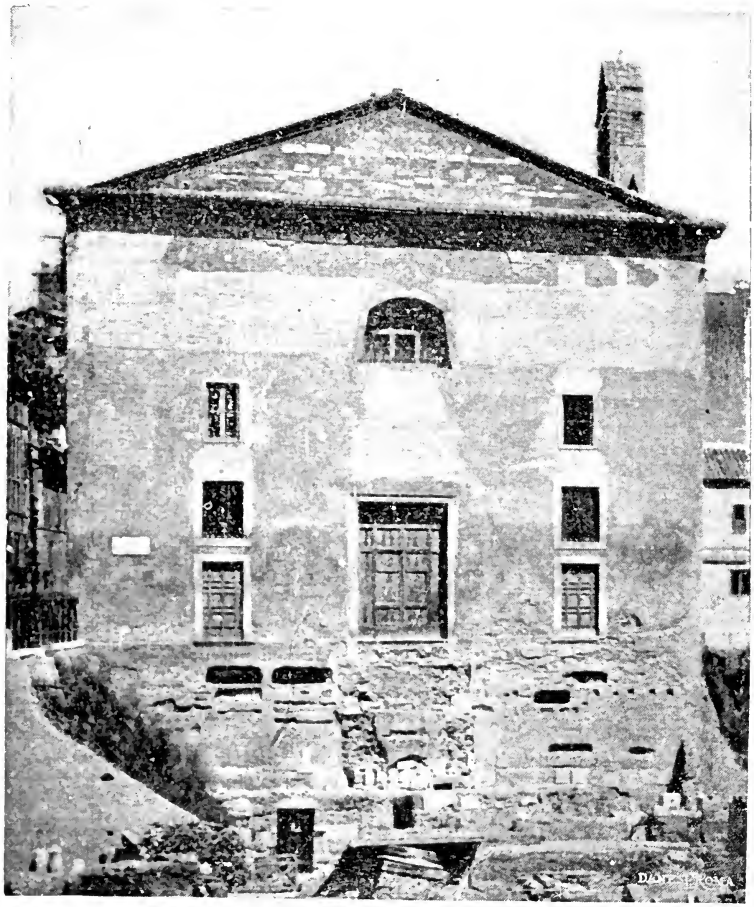


Fig. 55. Façade of the Curia.

separated from the Forum and the Comitium. A flight of steps, of which however only the concrete core has been preserved, led up to the entrance door. The high brick wall of the façade was covered in its lower part with marble, and in its upper part with stucco in imi-

tation of marble blocks. Old drawings show that in the XVI. century a very considerable amount of this

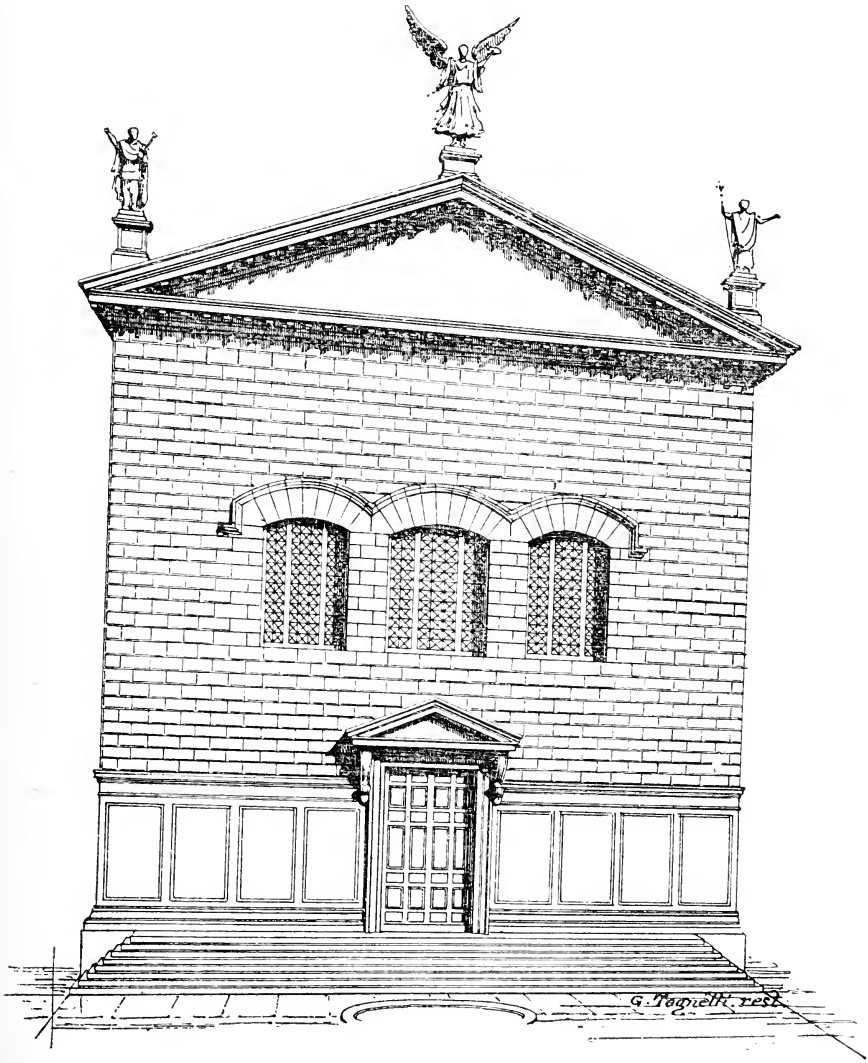


Fig. 56. Façade of the Curia, restored.

stucco decoration was still in existence; the beams of travertine which project out under the gable, and are at present devoid of decoration, were originally orna-

mented with stucco in imitation of a rich Corinthian cornice, with heads in bas-relief between the brackets.

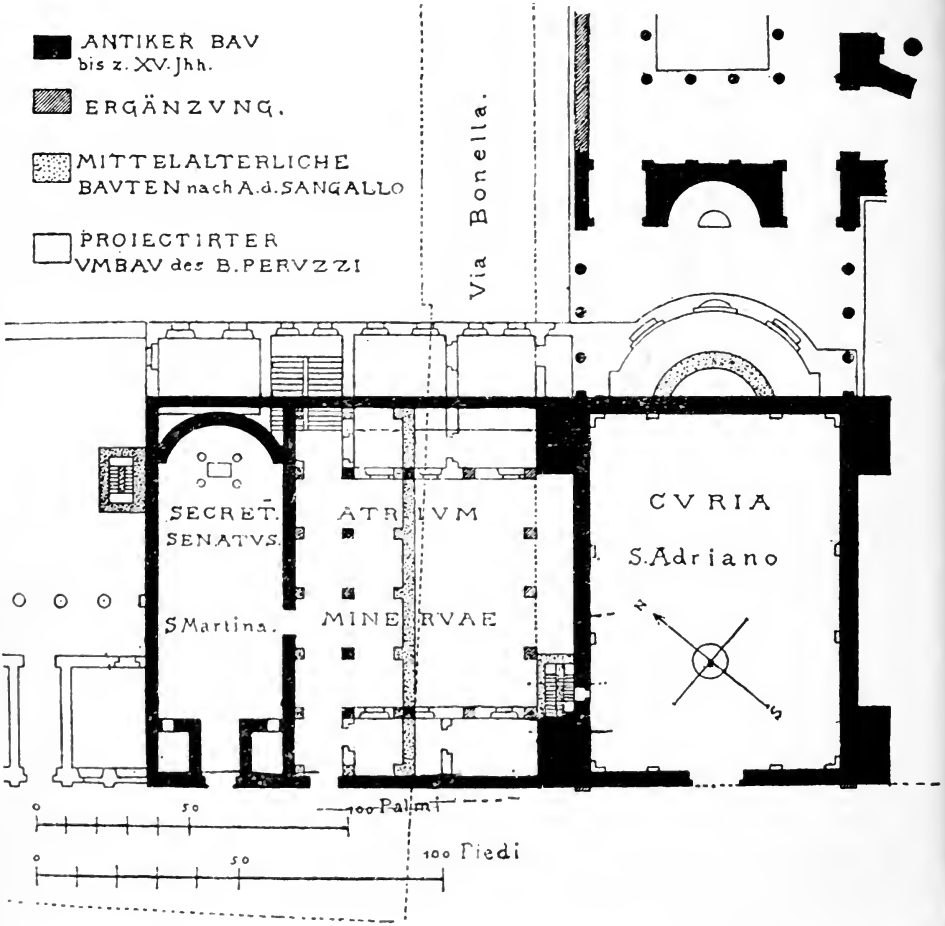


Fig. 57. Plan of the Curia and the Secretarium.
Those parts of the ancient structure which existed down to the XVI. century are indicated in black; parts supplied are indicated by shading; mediaeval construction by dots; and the reconstruction as planned by Peruzzi is given simply in contour.

The entrance-door of the Curia, 11 ft. 9 in. wide and 19 ft. high, lay in the time of Diocletian at the height of the platform of the flight of steps, but afterwards it

Fig. 58. The Arch of Severus and the Curia in the year 1575.

was several times raised higher (see fig. 55), along with the gradual rise in the level of the Forum. About ten feet above the original level two blocks of marble have been built into the wall to serve as corners for a new threshold; the lower half of the door of Diocletian has been blocked up with rough masonry, in which broken bits of marble, fragments of inscriptions, and porphyry columns have been used. In addition some pieces of ornaments, which are not older than the VIII.–IX. centuries, have been found in this rubble-work; accordingly the first raising of the level cannot be brought into connection with the founding of the church of S. Adriano, but must have occurred at the time of a mediaeval restoration of the church (after the attack of the Normans under Robert Guiscard, 1084, or in the reign of Gregory IX., 1229?). In the following centuries the level of the Forum was again raised, so that about 1570 one descended into the church by a flight of six or eight steps (see fig. 58). In 1654 a Spaniard, Alfonso Sotomayor, the general of the order of the Mercenarii, restored the church again, and raised the level about 10 feet higher: the threshold of the door of 1654 is almost exactly on a level with the lintel of the door of Diocletian. The door-jamb and the bronze doors were still the ancient ones: these doors were removed in the time of Innocent X, by Borromini, who used them for the chief portal of the Lateran in connection with his restoration of that basilica. When the doors were taken apart for transportation, several ancient coins were found between the panels, among them one of Domitian. The numerous graves which have been found partly under the staircase and partly hollowed out in the brick wall of the façade correspond, as far as the scanty indications enable us to judge, to the various epochs in the history of the building: the lower layers go back possibly to the X.-XI. centuries, the upper ones to the time of Cola di Rienzo.

XX. The **Carcer**. With the exception of the Curia, the Carcer is the only building in the Comitium which has been preserved. Accordingly it cannot be omitted

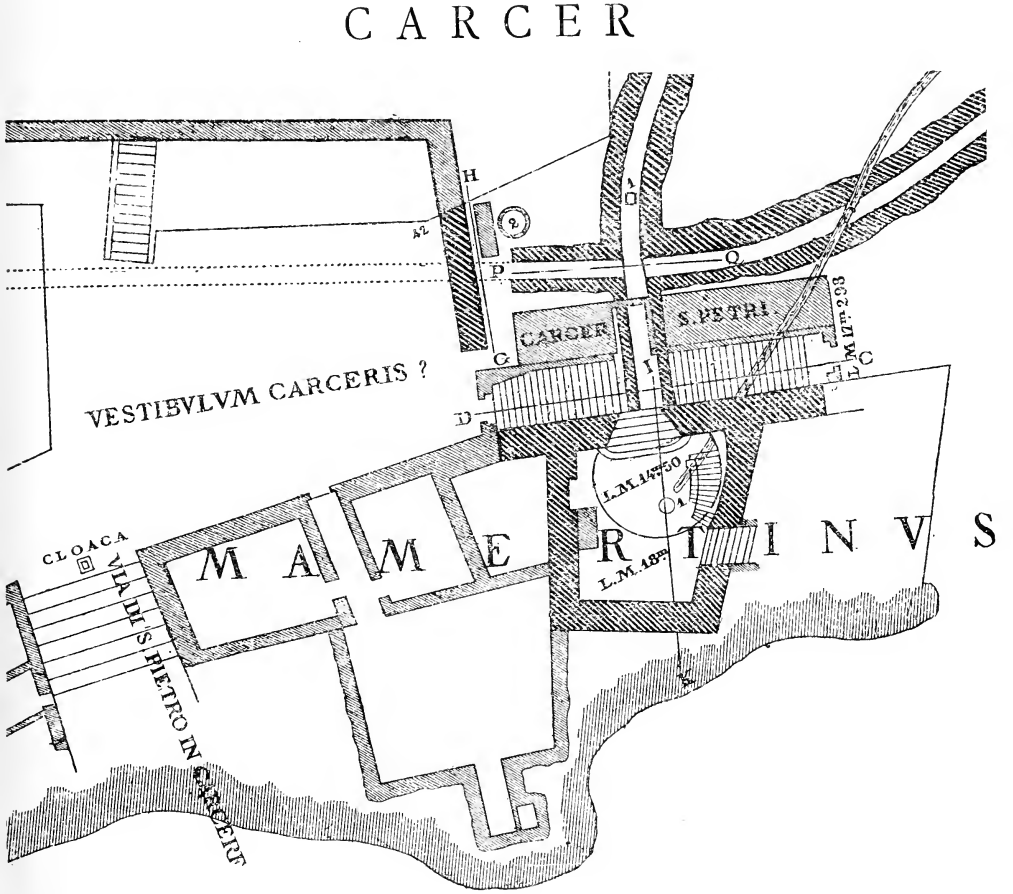


Fig. 59. Plan of the Carcer.

here, although it does not belong to the excavations of the Forum proper. It will be found most convenient to visit it in connection with the temples on the Clivus Capitolinus: the entrance is under the steps of the church

of S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami (also called S. Pietro in Carcere) opposite to the arch of Severus (near *C* fig. 59).

Roman writers distinguish between the *carcer*, in which evil-doers were imprisoned after their arrest until sentence was pro-

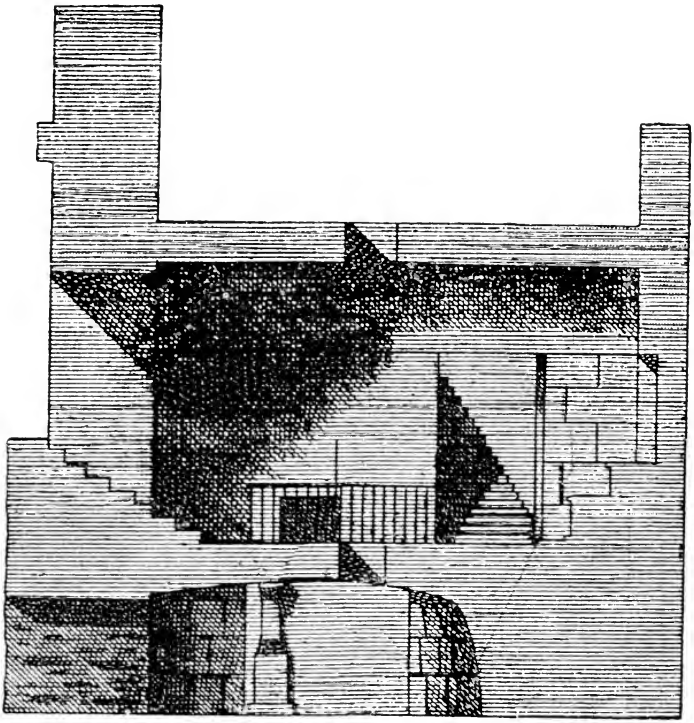


Fig. 60. Cross-section of the carcer and Tullianum.

nounced upon them (imprisonment itself as a punishment was unknown to Roman law), and the *tullianum*, a subterranean dungeon in which such executions occurred as did not take place in public. On account of the sound of the name, Roman tradition considered this dungeon as a foundation of the sixth king, Servius Tullius, whereas the Carcer was attributed to his predecessor Ancus Martius. In reality *tullianum* means perhaps only "well-house", and is derived from the obsolete word *tullus*, "spring" (see below). The Tullianum is always described as a frightful

dungeon; the Carcer, with its annexes and over-flow the "stone-quarries" (*lautumiae*) on the slope of the *Arx*, was a more agreeable place of confinement, in which the prisoners were permitted for example to read and write, and to receive the visits of their relatives and friends. It is told of the poet Naevius (about B. C. 200) that he wrote two plays *in carcere*. The use of the Carcer simply

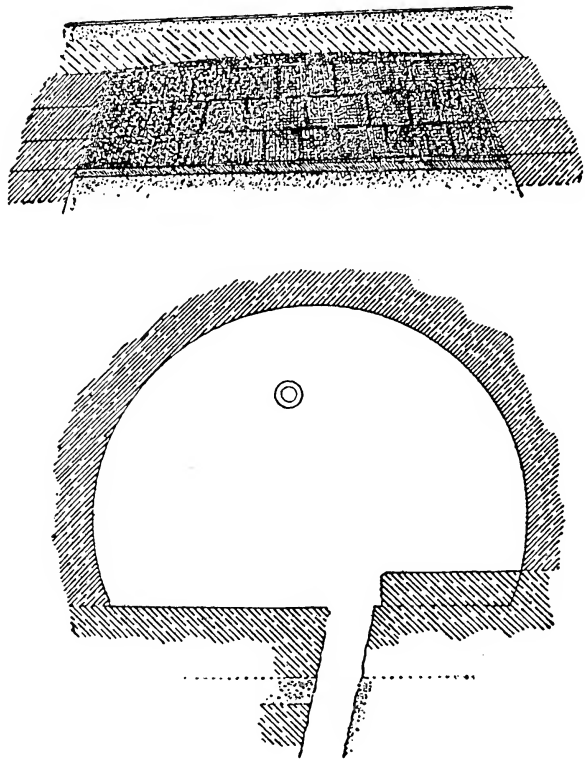


Fig. 61. Cross-section and plan of the Tullianum.

as a prison of detention and not as a place of penal servitude explains why Rome never had more than this one prison, which even with its annexes must have been of very moderate size.

We descend by a modern stairway to the ancient entrance, the threshold of which was almost 5 ft. below the present one, and was on the level of the old Comitium. On the outside, over the door, on a projecting band of travertine, is the inscription in

large letters: *C. Vibius C. f. Rufinus M. Cocceiu[s M. f. Nerva] cos. ex s(enatus) c(onsulto).* These two men were consuls under Tiberius or Caligula (between 20 and 40 A. D.). — We next enter the only well-preserved cell of the upper prison, a vaulted chamber of tufa blocks with very scanty use of travertine. Remains of other rooms adjacent have been discovered, but these rooms are not accessible.

Another modern staircase leads down into the lower prison: in antiquity the room was entered only through a hole in the ceiling. This ceiling is however not the original one, but belongs to some restoration, possibly that under Tiberius mentioned in the inscription. The ground-plan of the room is circular, but a third of the circle is cut off by a chord. This chord consists of the living rock; the circular wall is made of blocks of tufa which are very exactly fitted together without mortar. There are still left three layers of blocks, each one of which projects out over the one below: originally this construction was continued to more than twice the present height and formed a primitive cupola, such as is found in very ancient monuments in Italy and Greece (the so-called treasure-house of Atreus at Mycenae, the well-house on the citadel of Tusculum).

In the floor of the Tullianum rises a spring, at present with a rather small supply of water, which according to common opinion originally filled the whole vault and thus formed the spring of the Capitoline citadel. It is usually thought that the overflow was carried off by a drain cut in the tufa (at present the drain is shut off by an iron door). Recently doubts have been expressed as to the correctness of this hypothesis, especially on account of the absence of all incrustation, which would certainly have formed during the long-continued use of the room as a reservoir. Instead of the old theory it has been suggested that the structure is a very old cupola-grave, like those at Mycenae.

In the Tullianum Jugurtha, Vercingetorix and other conquered enemies of Rome met their end after they had been exhibited in triumph. On December 5th, B. C. 63, at Cicero's command, the associates of Catiline were executed here on the charge of high treason: in this connection Sallust gives his famous description of the Tullianum: " In the prison there is a room called Tullianum about twelve feet under the ground; it is inclosed by walls and

a vaulted roof of blocks of stone; its appearance is repulsive and loathesome on account of neglect, darkness and stench". Down into the IV. century A. D., we hear of prisoners of state who met their end in the Tullianum. Christian legend considers it as the prison of the apostle Peter, who miraculously called forth the spring from the ground in order that he might baptize his jailers Processus and Martinianus. It is only in these very late legends that the name *Carcer Mamertinus* (or *Custodia Mamertini*) occurs, a name entirely foreign to classical antiquity.

Near the Carcer the "steps of wailing" (*scalae Gemoniae* or simply *Gemoniae*) led up to the citadel; on this staircase the bodies of those who had been executed were exposed before being thrown into the Tiber. The direction of these steps must have corresponded with one of the modern stairways near the church, but no traces of them have as yet been found.

XXI. The **Basilica Aemilia.** Taking up our circuit of the Forum which was interrupted in the Comitium, we consider next the remains of the Basilica Aemilia.

In the year B. C. 179 (a. u. c. 575) the Censor Marcus Fulvius Nobilior gave the contract for the building of a basilica – the second in Rome – "behind the new booths", together with the fish-market (*Forum piscarium*). He completed its construction, as it seems, in common with his colleague Marcus Aemilius Lepidus: at any rate in after-time the building bore the name *Basilica Fulvia et Aemilia.* The conqueror of Perseus of Macedonia, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, seems to have won esteem by the decoration of the basilica: an inscription in his honour has recently been found in the ruins. The consul M. Aemilius Lepidus restored the building in B. C. 78 (a. u. c. 676), and decorated the façade with shields of metal. Probably it was he too who substituted columns of Phrygian marble (*pavonazzetto*) for the old ones of native stone. A coin of the Triumvir Lepidus struck in B. C. 61 shows the building as a two-storied portico (see fig. 62). The basilica became, as it were, a family monument of the Aemilii,

and the members of this *gens* continued to be interested in its adornment. On this account ever since the time of Sulla the simple name Basilica Aemilia was used in place of the old double name, and this continued in vogue during all the empire. It has already been stated (see above p. 16 f.) that in B. C. 54 one of the Aemilii, the curule aedile Marcus Lepidus, restored the basilica with the approval of Caesar and with Caesar's money, and at the same time began to construct on the southern side of the Forum a similar building, the later Basilica Julia. Twenty years later his son, the consul Paullus Lepidus, dedicated the basilica which had been begun by his father; and in B. C. 14 after a destructive fire the same man restored the building at Augustus's expense. Finally in the reign of Tiberius, in the year A. D. 22, the consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus restored the basilica, which in this connection Tacitus calls "a glorious monument of his ancestors".

Fig. 62.
Coin of Lepidus.

In regard to the subsequent fortunes of the building literary tradition is silent, but it is clear from the ruins themselves that it was partially destroyed under the late empire, probably at the time of the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410, and was patched up again in the following years. In 416 the city-prefect Probianus, who restored the Basilica Julia, too, decorated the Basilica Aemilia with statues. In the eighth century the greatest part of the building must have been in ruins, and in the eastern half a kind of fortress was constructed. Concerning the final destruction of the building we have no exact knowledge; in the XIV. and XV. centuries the region between S. Adriano and S. Lorenzo was called "*la Zecca Vecchia*" (the old mint) and was used as a stone-quarry. On the west side, opposite S. Adriano, a corner of the building with its Doric entablature was still standing (see fig. 63 and p. 37, fig. 9); on account of the bucrania in the metopes the artists of the Renaissance are accustomed to call it "Foro Boario". In 1500, when the Cardinal of Corneto, Adriano Castellesi, built his palace in the Borgo, in the Piazza Scossacavalli (the modern palace Giraud-Torlonia), his architect, the great Bramante, destroyed this last bit of the ruin, in order to use the huge blocks of marble for the decoration of this palace. After the last traces of the building

had disappeared from the surface of the ground the remembrance of it was lost also, and it was only in recent times that the site of the basilica was again discovered.

The basilica of the Empire (of the republican building only a few bits of the foundations remain, which

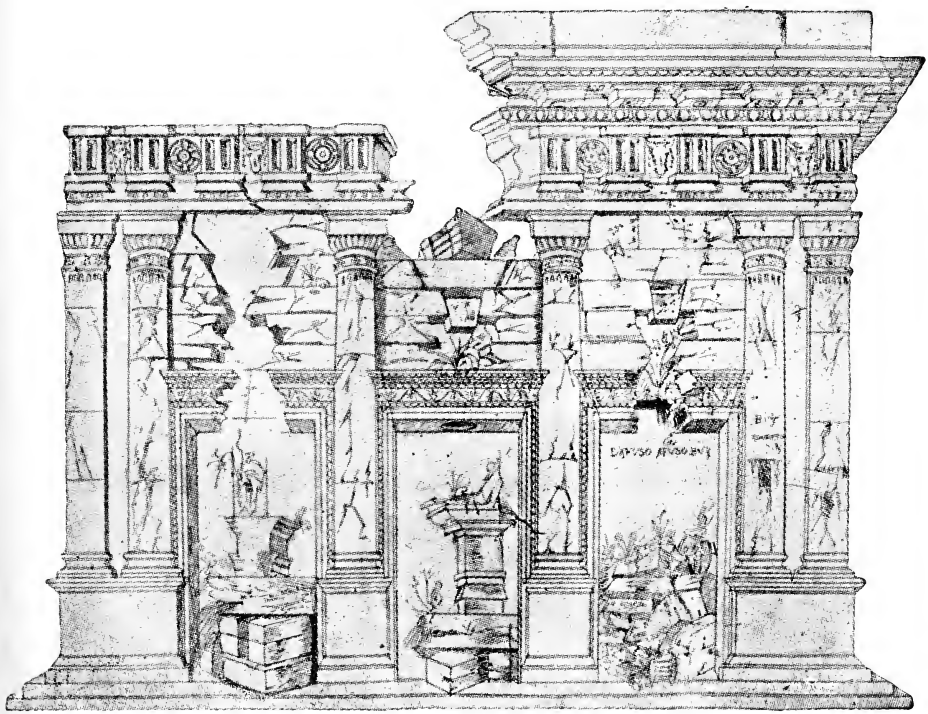


Fig. 63. Remains of the Basilica Aemilia about 1480 (drawing by Giuliano da Sangallo).

were built into the foundation-walls of the later building) falls into three parts: the vestibule, the separate rooms (*tabernae*) and the main hall.

From the area of the Forum four steps lead up to a platform paved with white marble, and from here two steps more into the vestibule. The vestibule corresponded in its architecture to the Basilica Julia oppo-

site (see also the reliefs on Trajan's balustrades, above p. 100): two stories supported by great square pillars, faced with engaged columns, the whole of white marble. At the east corner (near the temple of Faustina) a pavilion–like structure projected forward about 13 feet.

The lower story had fourteen large arched entrances; over the arches, a Doric entablature, with bucrania and sacrificial saucers in the metopes (see fig. 63 p. 129). In the vestibule lie several bits of the entablature which belonged to the building, ornamented with acanthus. It is interesting to compare a piece of the original building from the time of Augustus with one which lies near it, dating probably from the restoration of the II. or III. century and showing much ruder and flatter work. From the vestibule one does not enter, as in the Basilica Julia, directly into the main room: instead the entrance lies in the middle of the side (the marble threshold is still *in situ*). On each side of the entrance, to the right and to the left, are six separate rooms, nearly square and not connected with one another. These rooms, like the similar ones at the rear of the Basilica Julia, probably served as offices, for the banking business etc. At each end of the vestibule a staircase led to the upper story, which was similarly arranged. In the western half of the building very little is left of the rear wall of the *tabernae*: one enters the main room ordinarily by means of a bridge over a deep drain with walls of huge blocks of travertine (this drain, in spite of its archaic appearance, belongs to the time of the Empire).

The main room was 95 ft. wide, and about 228 ft. long; the central nave is about 39 ft. wide, and the right–hand side–aisle – the one which is bounded by the rear wall of the *tabernae* – is about 16 ft. wide. On the opposite (left–hand) side the main hall had, as the

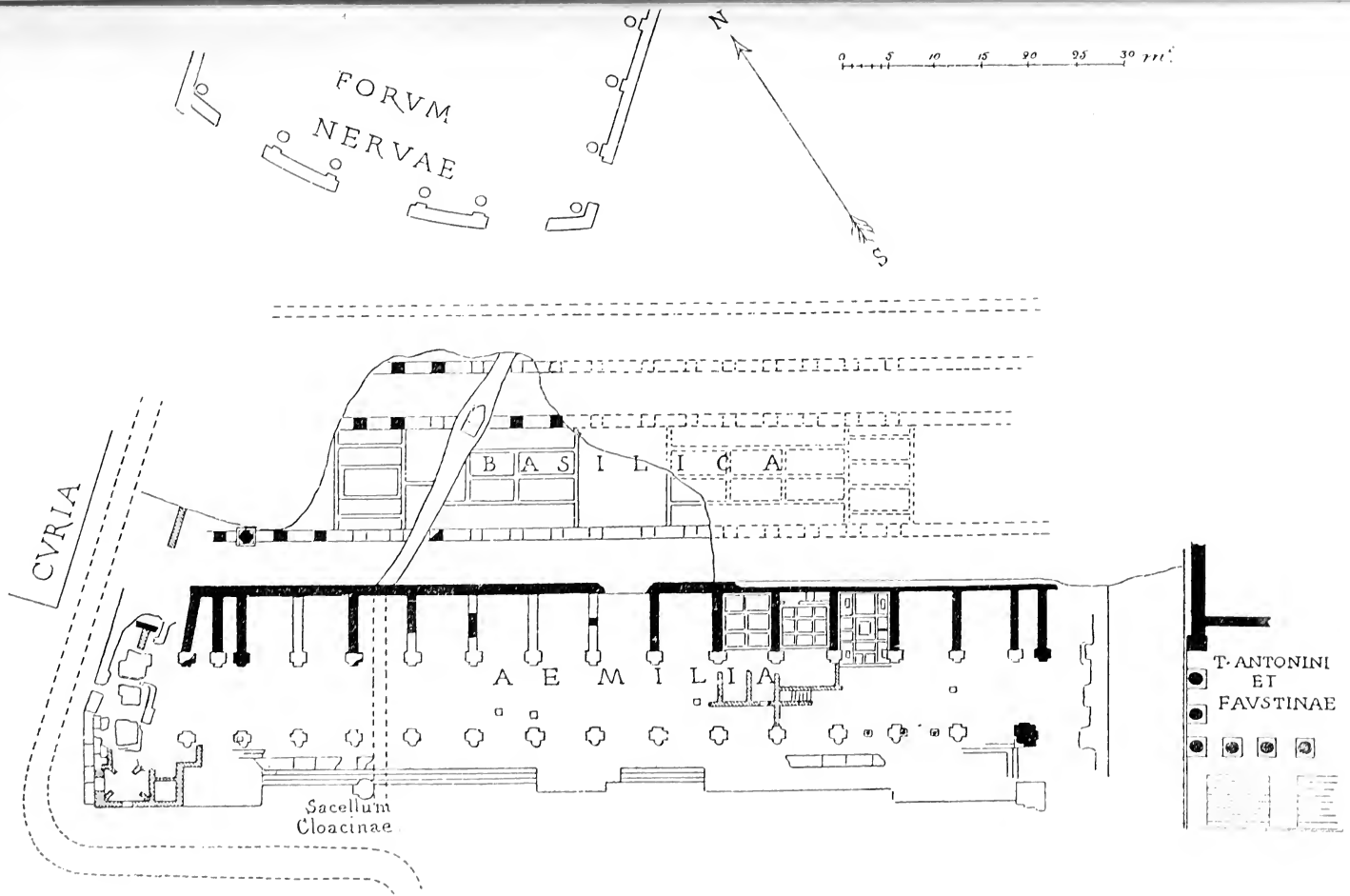


Fig. 64. Plan of the Basilica Aemilia.

fragment of the Forma Urbis shows (see above p. 22), two side-aisles instead of one. The galleries above the side-aisles vere not supported by pillars, as in the Basilica Julia, but by columns: a number of fragments

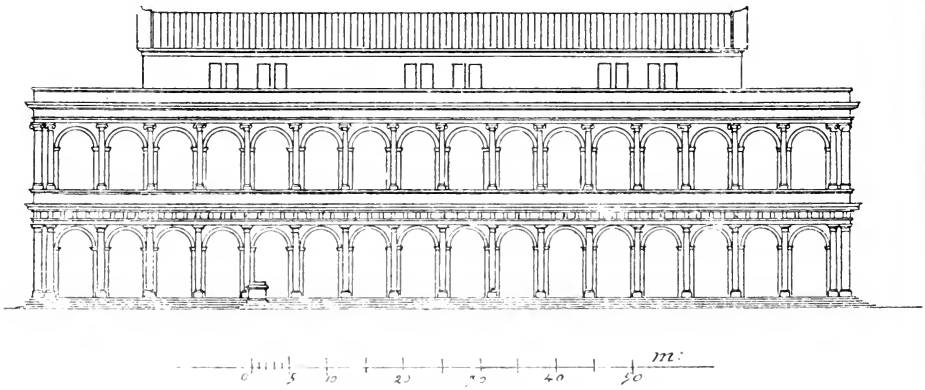


Fig. 65. Façade of the Basilica Aemilia, I.–IV. centuries.

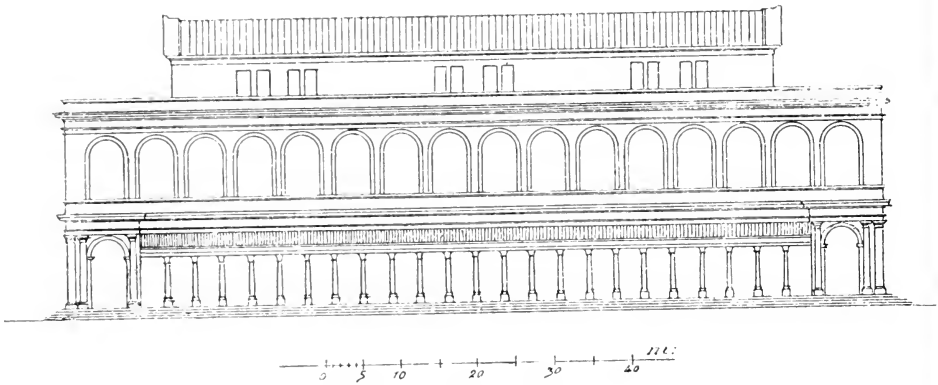


Fig. 66. Façade of the Basilica Aemilia, V.–VI. centuries.

of the shafts of these columns (of black, red and white Marmo Africano, diameter 2 ft. 9 in.) have been preserved. Above the columns was an entablature of marble of very fine workmanship. On some pieces of the architrave which were injured by fire the remains of an inscription are preserved: ..... PAVL ..... RESTI ...,

which probably refers to the restoration by the consul Paullus 34 or 14 B. C. The side-aisles were not vaulted as in the Basilica Julia, but they had ceilings of wood; the columns of the upper story were also of Marmo Africano, but they were only 1 ft. 9 in. in diameter. The

Fig. 67. Mediaeval constructions in the Basilica Aemilia.

entablature of the upper story was also of white marble with fine workmanship, and numerous fragments of it have been found. The main entrance must have been on the west end, facing the Curia; on the opposite end lay the apse, the excavation of which is soon to be undertaken.

The pavement of the central nave, which consists of great slabs of coloured marble (Giallo, Cipollino, Porta-

santa), shows in many places marks of a conflagration: countless little bits of iron and bronze are melted fast into it, as well as many coins (most of the coins are at present in the magazzino of the Museum). These coins, in so far as they can still be deciphered, belong mostly to the period after Constantine. Accordingly the building must have been at one time injured by fire, when the wooden roofs of the side–aisles and especially the enormous roof of the central nave furnished abundant fuel for the flames. According to the coins which have been found, this disaster must have occurred at the beginning of the v. century, probably in connection with the invasion of Alaric, when the Curia and the Secretarium were also a prey to the flames (see above p. 117). When the basilica was restored in the reign of Honorius the restorers did not take the trouble to replace the injured pavement by an entirely new one, but, just as was done in the house of the Vestals (see below p. 214), a new and much ruder pavement was laid on top of the older one: in this way the traces of the fire, the coins etc. have been so well preserved.

Going out of the main room through the ancient door in the middle, we see on the left the walls of a mediaeval building (a house? or a church?) constructed of blocks of grey–green tufa roughly joined together, and not older than the VII. or VIII. century (see fig. 67). The richly sculptured ornamental slabs which are fastened to the outside of the walls have no more connection with the house than they have with the basilica. They were found serving as a cover for a mediaeval drain under the street in front of the basilica (an exactly similar piece previously excavated is in the Lateran Museum). The threshold of this mediaeval house was made of a block of marble which was brought here from the Regia, and which contained a long fragment of the *Fasti Con-*

sulares (see below p. 194; this block is now with the rest of the *Fasti* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori). In some of the *tabernae* in the east half of the basilica marble pavements are found, the pattern of which, consisting of rectangles, circles and narrow bands of Giallo, porphyry and serpentine, resembles the patterns in churches of the VII.–IX. centuries (S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Prassede); these too date from a structure of the early middle ages. These *tabernae* are used now as store-rooms for small objects found in the excavations: noteworthy are the beautiful ornaments which come from the basilica itself, among others the door-posts with acanthus ornaments in bas-relief.

In front of the *tabernae*, near the east corner, are three columns of granite which in modern times have been set up on heavy cube-shaped bases of white marble: the columns themselves formed a part of the reconstruction at the beginning of the V. century. One sees that the spaces between the columns of this colonnade were much smaller than those between the original pillars (reduced from 17 ft. 5 in. to 13 ft. 2 in.): accordingly the façade had 24 much narrower intercolumniations in place of the original 14 large arches (fig. 65, 66).

A great heap of marble fragments in front of the granite columns is composed of fragments of the basilica, and also of parts of other monuments. Especially noticeable is a monumental inscription with very beautiful and extraordinarly well-preserved letters:

L · CAESARI · AVGuSTI F · DIVI · N
PRINCIPI IVVENTVtiS COS · DESIG
CVM eSSET ANN · NaT · XIIII · AVG
SENATVS

This inscription was dedicated by the senate in B. C. 2 in honour of the adopted son of Augustus, Lucius Caesar, when he was designated consul at the

age of 14 (at that time, in addition to this, he already enjoyed the honour of being *princeps iuventutis* and augur). The inscription belongs probably with the other relating to Augustus (at present set up not far from the first one, in front of the basilica) to a great monument erected to the family of Augustus in front of the temple of Caesar (see below p. 154).

Behind this heap of fragments, almost at the extreme end of the front of the basilica, are several large blocks of marble *in situ*, the only remains of the lower story of the portico. They formed a part of the pavilion-shaped projection referred to on p. 130; the inner corner is rounded into the third of a fluted column (engaged), while the outer sides had merely fluted pillars.

Retracing our steps almost to the west end of the façade, along a road with a mediaeval pavement of basalt (we may notice, under the great heap of fragments, remains of very late private house with variegated marble pavements, and further on bits of the large Doric entablature of the basilica), we arrive at the Sacellum Cloacinae.

XXII. The Sacellum Cloacinae. A round substructure with a marble rim at the top, and traces of a flight of steps on the west side, have been preserved (see fig. 69). Under the ground a foundation of blocks of tufa to the depth of about 10 ft. has been uncovered.

Fig. 68. Coin of Mussidius Longus.

The little structure stands over the drain which flows through the basilica (see above p. 130) not far from the point where the Cloaca Maxima enters the Forum. Upon the denarii of Mussidius Longus (B. C. 43) a very similar small round building is repre-

sented, which according to the inscription is dedicated to Cloacina. The so-called 'parabasis' in the Curculio of Plautus (see above p. 13) mentions the *Cloacinae sacrum* between the Comitium and the Basilica Aemilia; besides this, its situation is indicated in the story of the death of Virginia (B. C. 449).

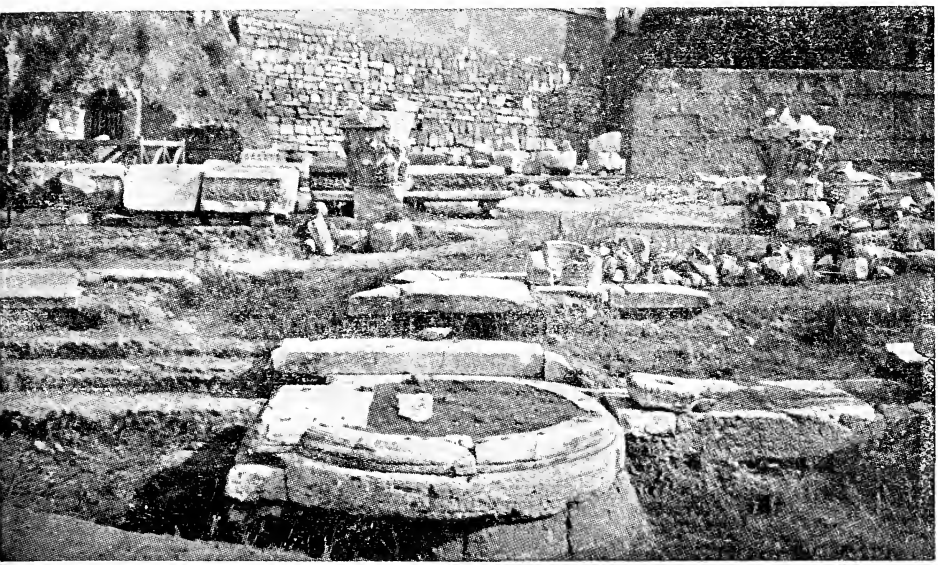


Fig. 69. The shrine of Cloacina.

In order to gain possession of the beautiful Virginia, the daughter of the centurion Virginius, the decemvir Appius Claudius caused one of his clients to swear that the girl was his slave. In vain the daughter, with her father, who had hastened to Rome from the camp, appeared before the tribunal of Claudius in the Forum: deaf to all arguments and pleadings Claudius commanded the lictor to lead the girl away to her own master. Then Virginius, robbed of all hope, besought Appius that he might be allowed once more to bid farewell to his daughter; and when he had received permission he led her and her nurse aside to the shrine of Cloacina near the *tabernae* which were later called *tabernae*

novae, snatched a knife from a butcher, and plunged it into his daughter's breast, crying aloud: "Thus, my child – and thus only – can I give thee thy freedom! But upon thee, Appius, and upon thy head be this blood!" Then the people filled with wrath seized their weapons and drove forth Claudius and all his followers.

According to the illustrations on the coins we must imagine two female statues on the little round structure,

Fig. 70. The shrine of Cloacina, restoration.

one of which held a flower in her left hand; beside each of them was a low pillar upon which was a little bird: flowers and doves were well-known symbols of Venus, with whom Cloacina was sometimes identified.

XXIII. The **Middle of the Forum.** The open space in the Forum is paved with slabs of white limestone (travertine): the present pavement dates probably from comparatively late times. Upon this pavement or sunk into it one sees foundations for all sorts of monoments, the nature of which is for the most part unknown. For example an almost square foundation of brick, which was discovered, not far from the shrine of Cloacina, in front of the middle of the Basilica Aemilia (near *g*, Pl. I and fig. 71), has without good reason been explained as a Janus.

Janus, the old Roman god of beginnings and entrances, had to be sure no temple in the Forum (offering was made to him in the Regia), but he possessed a peculiar sanctuary consisting of two

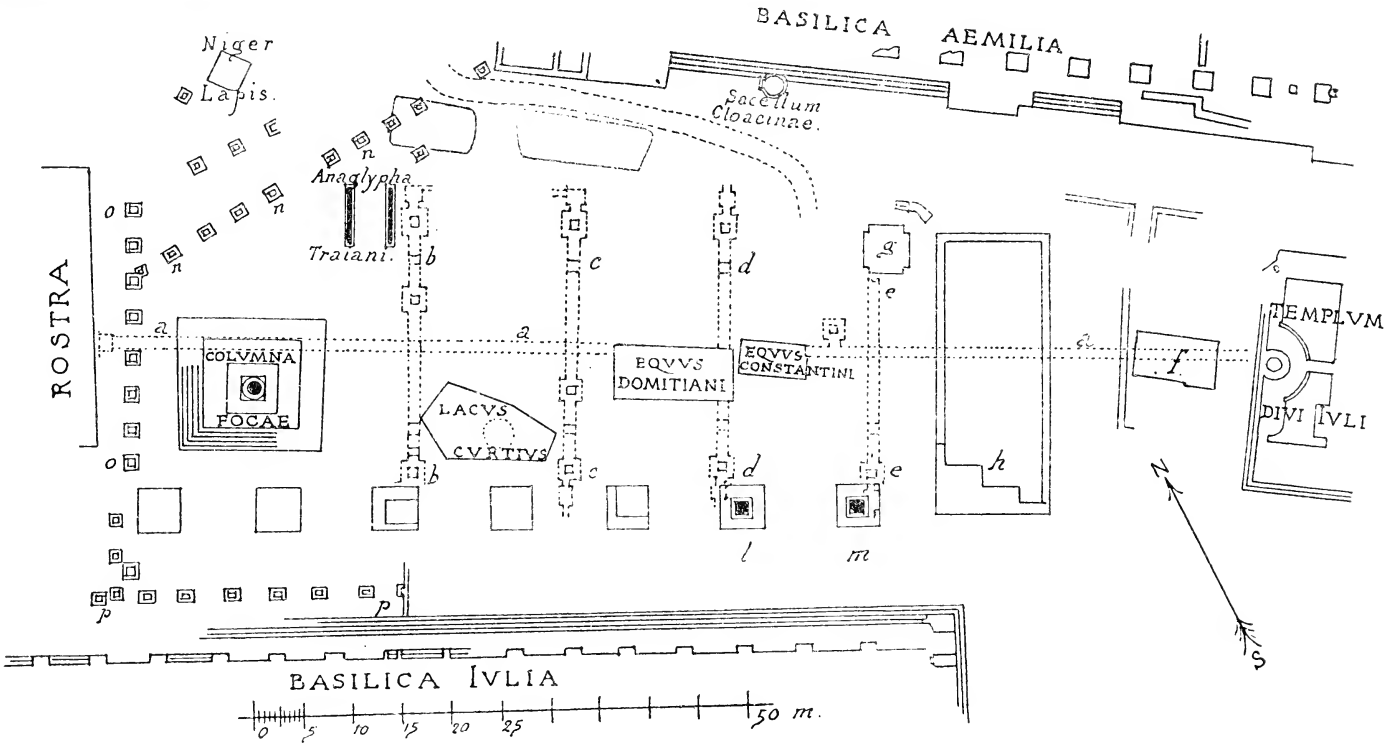


Fig. 71. Plan of the middle of the Forum.

door-ways (*jani*) connected by walls or gratings. It lay "in the lower part of the Argiletum", and was still in existence in the sixth century A. D., when an eye-witness describes it as follows: "Janus has his sanctuary in the Forum in front of the Curia, a little beyond the *tria fata* (see above p. 27). This temple is entirely of bronze [that is to say covered with bronze], rectangular in shape, and just big enough so that a statue of Janus can stand inside of it. This statue is of bronze, five ells (about 7 ft.) high, and has the shape of a man, but with two faces, one of which looks toward the rising of the sun, and the other toward its setting. On both sides there are bronze doors". The sanctuary is represented on coins of Nero, who in A. D. 66 shut the Janus because "peace was reigning on land and sea". The foundation above referred to, which is not in front of the Curia, and is not oriented each and west, can have nothing to do with the Janus. Traces of the old Janus have not as yet been found: the existence of other Jani in the Forum is problematical (the archways, for example that over the Vicus Jugarius, see above p. 67 f., are another matter).

Fig. 72. Coin of Nero with representation of Janus.

The (so-called) Equus Constantini. Farther on in the direction of the Sacra Via one sees on the pavement, just about in the middle, the remains of a base, which judged by its length seems to have supported an equestrian statue. The lower half consists of bricks, resting directly on the pavement, above them are blocks of travertine, and above these in turn the shafts of columns of giallo antico, which now lie near the base, were used as material. It is so badly built that one hesitates to set it in the time of Constantine (whose monument the Anonymus Einsidlensis saw still standing in the midst of the Forum, see above p. 29 f.).

The Equus Domitiani. Between this base and the brick bases on the Sacra Via a very much larger concrete foundation was discovered in 1903, under the

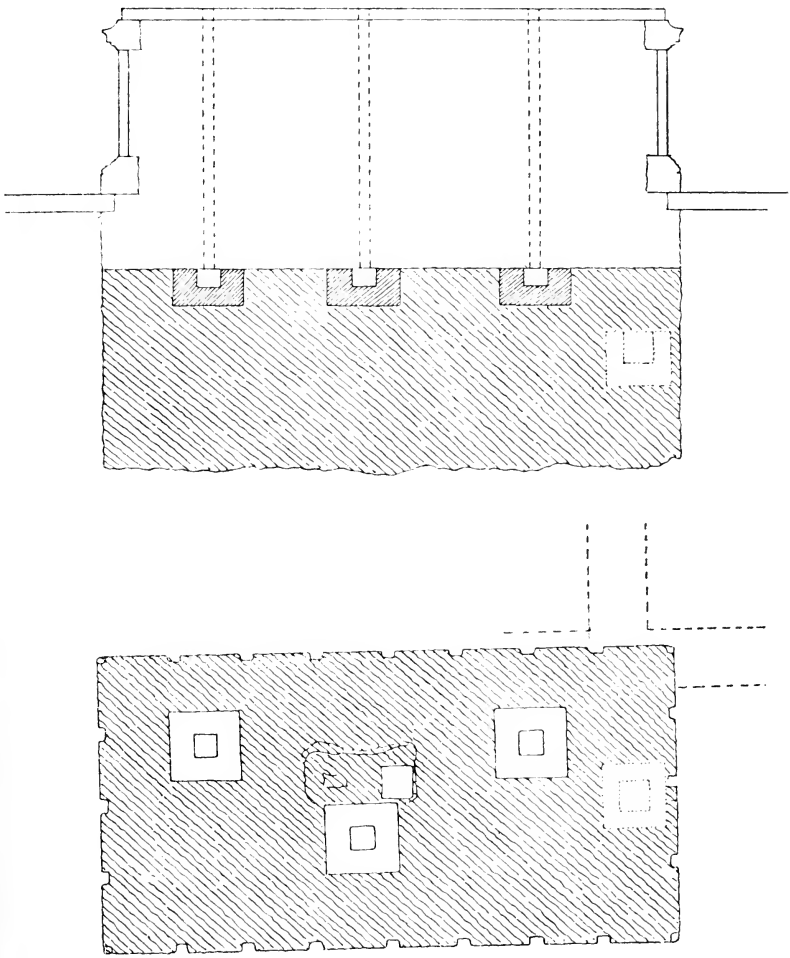


Fig. 73. The Equus Domitiani.

pavement. That this foundation belongs to the empire, more precisely to the first century A. D., is rendered probable not only by reason of its construction, but also because in the erection of it one of the subterra-

nean passages (*cuniculi*) of which we are to speak below (p. 152) was broken through and partly obstructed. Of the superstructure, which doubtless consisted of great blocks of travertine and marble, not the smallest remains have been found – which seems to show that already in antiquity it was purposely destroyed. Now it is a well-known fact that in the first century a great monument was erected in the middle of the Forum close by the Lacus Curtius in honour of a ruler against whom after his death the senate pronounced a judgement of *memoriae damnatio*. Both the site and the date of these newly discovered remains agree well with their attribution to the equestrian statue of Domitian.

In A. D. 91 Domitian had received in the Forum a monument for his campaigns in Germany: a colossal equestrian statue with the conquered river-god Rhine under the raised fore-foot of the horse. The court poet Statius celebrated this work of art in a special poem (Silv. I, 1), to which we are indebted for some interesting information concerning the Forum as a whole. He addresses the emperor as follows:

Noble the monument's site, beholding the temple of Julius,
Who by the grace of his son has gone on the road to Olympus,
Leading the way for all those who follow him as our rulers...
There on one side may be seen the stately Basilica Julia,
Yonder the noble hall of Paullus famous in battle,
While behind thee are standing thy father and gentle Concordia.
There in the midst art thou, thy noble head raised toward heaven:
There thou beholdest the temples and lookest upon the Palatium,
Rising afresh in despite of the flames, and fairer than ever;
Now at the hearth of Vesta with care thy watchful eye searches,
To see if the work of the maidens duly pleases the goddess.

Par operi sedes: hinc obvia limina pandit
Qui fessus bellis adsertae munere prolis
Primus iter nostris ostendit in aethera divis...
At laterum passus hinc Iulia tecta tuentur,
Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli;
Terga pater blandoque videt Concordia voltu.
Ipse autem puro celsum caput aere saeptus

Templa superfulges et prospectare videris
An nova contemptis surgant Palatia flammis
Pulchrius, an tacita vigilet face Troicus ignis
Atque exploratas iam laudet Vesta ministras.

Lines 22 ff. refer to the apotheosis of Julius Caesar which was effected by Augustus; l. 31 refers to the temples of Vespasian and Concord; l. 36 contains a reference to a sensational process against the Vestal Virgins at the beginning of Domitian's reign.

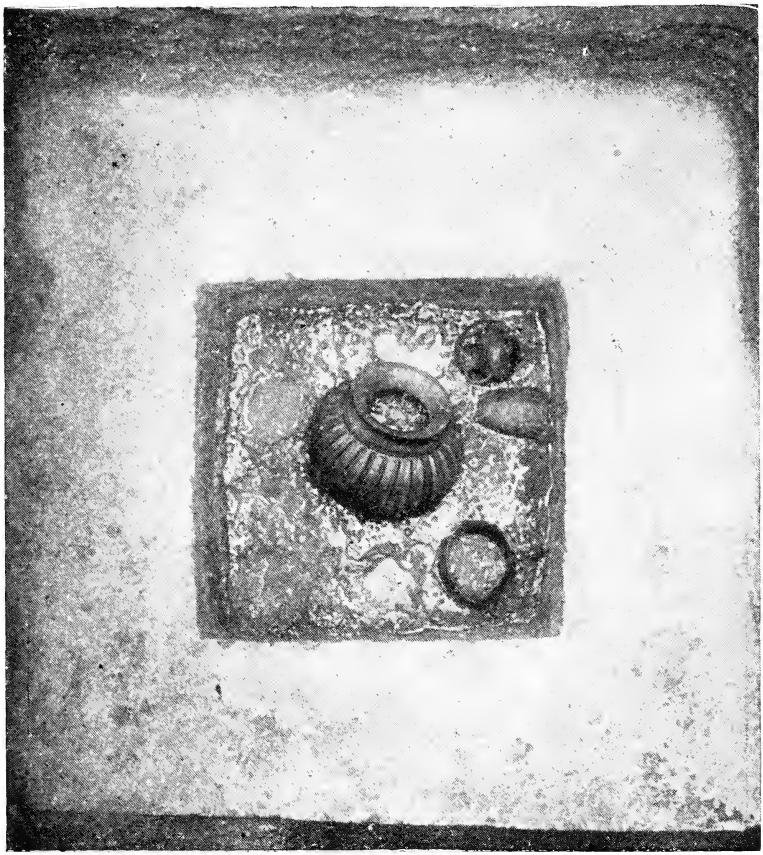


Fig. 74. Clay vessels found in the Basis Domitiani.

In several places large blocks of travertine are imbedded in the upper surface of the concrete: in

March 1904 it was discovered that one of these blocks was hollowed out and contained five archaic clay vessels similar to those found in the old necropolis (see below n. XXXV); possibly they were the contents of a very old tomb which was found in digging for the foundation, and which for religious reasons was covered up and left on exactly the same spot. In the vases neither remains of bones nor funeral gifts were found, only in the largest of them were found a piece of quartz, containing a bit of pure gold, and a few fragments of tortoise-shell.

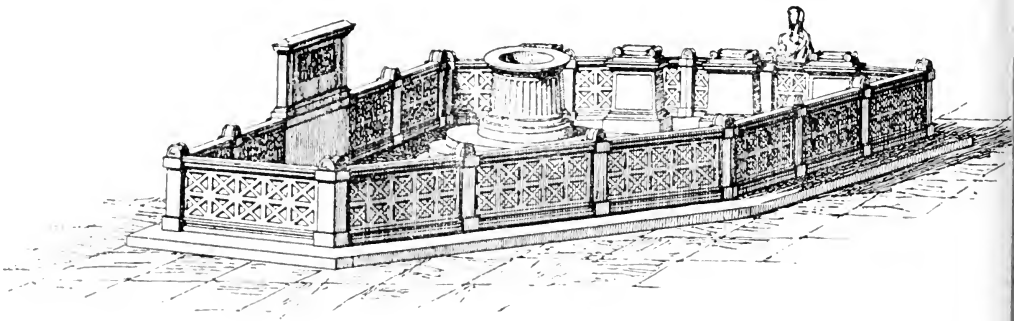


Fig. 75. Lacus Curtius.

Beside the basis, at a great depth, in October 1905 three skeletons without indications of formal burial were found.

In November, 1905, between the 'Equus Domitiani' and the third (from east) column-base (near *c d* fig. 71) was found a concrete foundation, with a pavement of variegated marbles and remains of brick walls and of a stuccoed vault. This structure has been explained as an imperial tribunal, but without adequate evidence.

The Lacus Curtius. According to Statius's description (v. 66 ff.) there stood near the monument to Domitian another structure, and that a very ancient one, the Lacus Curtius.

Popular tradition considered the Lacus Curtius as marking the site of a swamp or abyss, which was thought to have existed in very early times on this the lowest point in the valley of the Forum. Roman scholars derived the name from a Sabine leader Mettus Curtius, who in the war with Romulus fell into a swamp on this spot and almost lost his life. This legend is represented in a remarkable archaistic relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (see fig. 76), which was found in 1553 in a garden between the column of Phocas and the temple of Castor. There was however a

Fig. 76. Mettus Curtius, Bas-relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

more popular version according to which a noble Roman, Marcus Curtius, in order to save the city, plunged into the mysterious gulch which had opened up in the middle of the Forum. Finally there was a tradition (possibly derived from the city-chronicle?) that the consul C. Curtius (B. C. 445) fenced the spot in at the command of the senate because it had been struck by lightning. In the time of the Elder Pliny there grew near the Lacus a fig-tree, an olive-tree, and a grape-vine (see below p. 149): Pliny also tells us that an altar which stood there had been removed on the occasion of the gladiatorial games which were celebrated in the Forum in connection with Caesar's funeral. This altar however must have been restored by Augustus, for Ovid (Fasti VI, 403) says:

That is the Lacus Curtius, where altars now stand on the dry ground;
Dry is the ground to-day – water though covered it once.

Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,
Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.

In the time of Augustus the Lacus was still in existence, but merely as the mouth of a dry well (*puteal*) into which gifts were

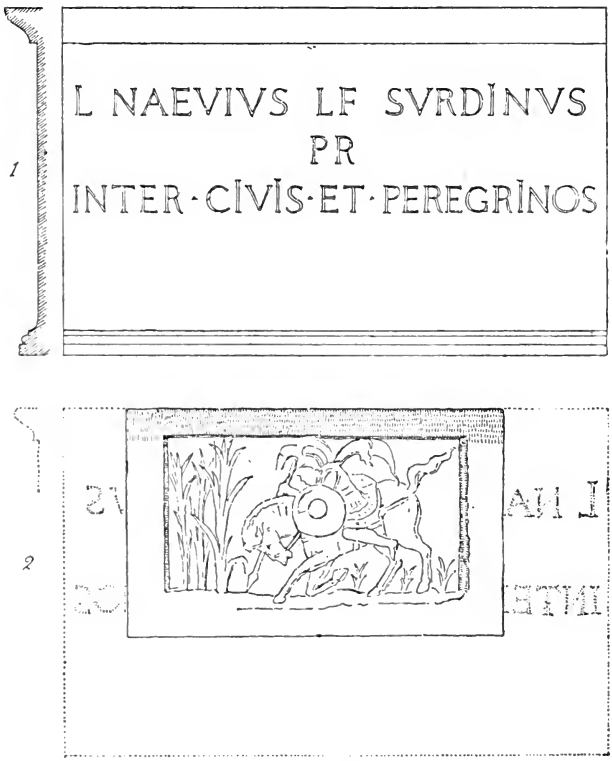


Fig. 77. The bas-relief of Curtius and the inscription of Naevius Surdinus.

thrown every year in honour of the emperor. Possibly it was restored at the beginning of the fourth century A. D., and on this occasion the above-mentioned relief, a copy of an old Italic work from about the third century B. C., was made.

In April 1904, under the travertine pavement, which dates from the empire, and between the equestrian statue

of Domitian and the brick basis of Diocletian's time, remains of the Lacus Curtius were found. Two layers can be distinguished. The upper one, about 2 feet below the level of the late empire, consists of a space paved with large slabs of travertine and fenced in by

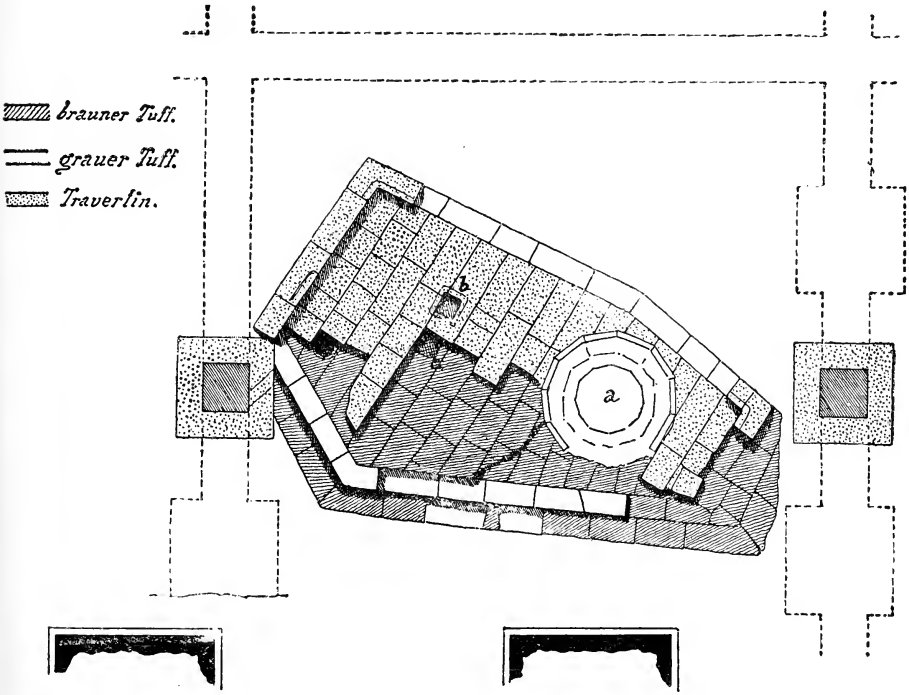


Fig. 78. Plan of the Lacus Curtius.

similar blocks. The ground-plan is a trapezoid with one side slightly bent out and a corner cut off (see fig. 84): it is 33 ft. 3 in. in length and 29 ft. 4 in. in width. Near the eastern corner may be seen the plinth of a round altar or puteal which is placed upon a twelve-sided substructure. The foundations of the puteal extend into the lower layer, which corresponds in extent to the upper one, but consists of blocks of tufa. At

the western end, traces of altars or bases are to be seen, reminding us of the *arae siccae*, the altars on dry ground, which according to Ovid's description stood in his time near the Lacus. On the side toward the Sacra Via the excavations were carried to a great depth, and

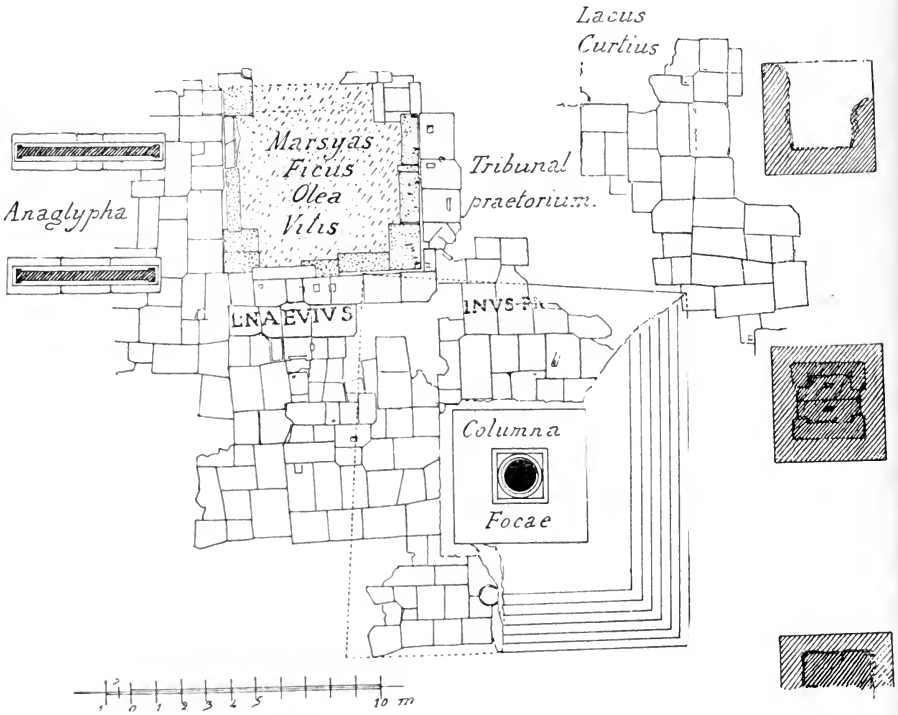


Fig. 79. The site of the Tribunal and the Marsyas.

resulted in finding the remains of a grave with a skeleton, and also a well-preserved wheel of oak which possibly belonged to a hoisting machine. The excavations are to be continued beneath the tufa pavement also, where it is hoped there may be found remains of the dedicatory gifts which were thrown in earlier times into the sacred abyss.

Tribunal Praetorium. In February, 1906, there has been noticed, between the Lacus Curtius and the Column of Phocas, cut into the slabs of the travertine pavement, an inscription, whose letters 30 cm. in heigth were originally filled with bronze. These letters, laid

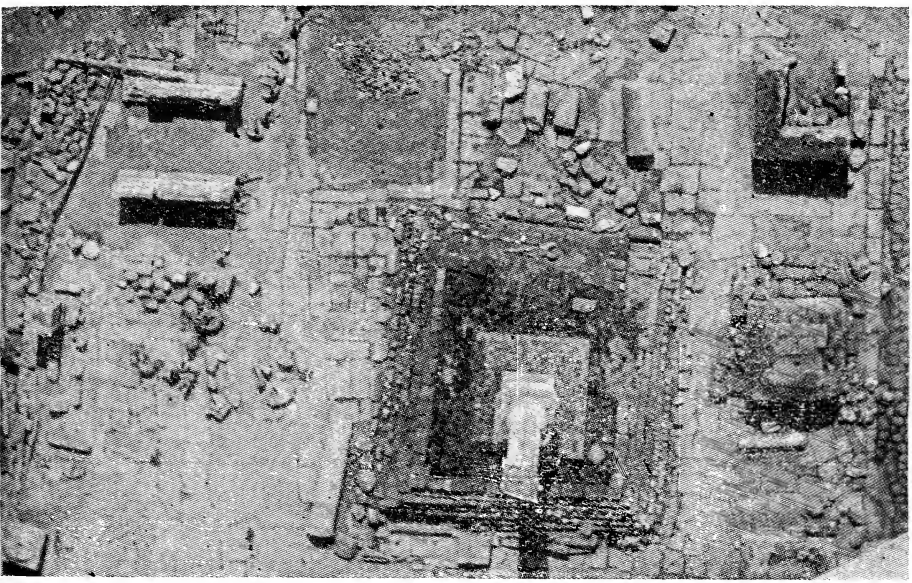


Fig. 80. The surroundings of the column of Phocas in 1900 (from a photograph taken from a balloon).

bare when the east side of the pyramid of steps around the Column of Phocas was removed in 1903, but left unoticed for nearly three years, gave only the end of a name ...INVS... On this occasion another still more surprising fact presented itself: since 1872 the beginning of the same inscription always been visible, but had never been noticed by any archaeologist. A photograph taken from a balloon, in 1900 (reproduced in part in fig. 80), shows clearly the letters L. NAEVIVS... in the

pavement stones between the Anaglypha and the steps of the Column. The two fragments united give the following inscription: L · NAEVIVS · L · . . . . . DINVS PR · This is doubtless the same man whose name is on one side of the marble slab which bears on the other side the relief of Mettius Curtius (see fig. 77) and who, according to this inscription, was *praetor inter cives et peregrinos*. We know two men called Naevius Surdinus: one of them was *triumvir monetalis* under Augustus, about 15 B. C., another was *consul suffectus* in 30 A. D. It is probable that we should identify the praetor with the elder Surdinus, and put his magistracy in the reign of Augustus. Another inscription dedicated by another praetor of nearly the same epoch, Marcus Cispius, was found in 1811 on the steps of the column of Phocas (it is now in the Basilica Julia).

These inscriptions give evidence of the position of the Tribunal Praetorium, where in republican times, and until the beginning of the empire, the judicial sessions were held. We are told by ancient writers, that this Tribunal was near the Lacus Curtius and at the side of the *tabernae veteres* (viz. the later Basilica Julia). Beside the Tribunal stood the statue of Marsyas and near it the fig–tree (see above p. 104), an olive–tree and a grape vine. The position of these sacred trees in still discernible in the neighbourhood of the inscription of Surdinus: alongside the first letters of the name there is a square spot, the only spot not covered by the travertine pavement in Roman times (the irregular pavement now existing dates from the middle ages). The Tribunal was for the most part a wooden construction: hence it is easy to understand, that there are no existing remains.

Possibly the large marble slab was part of a balustrade forming the rear wall of the Tribunal Praetorium. On this wall would have been fastened every year the

Fig. 81. The Altar of the Magistri vici Aescleti.

edictum praetoris, viz., a recapitulation of the rules for jurisdiction during his administration. The repetition of the founder's name, Naevius Surdinus (it occurs once on the marble slab and again on the travertine pavement) has its analogy in other Roman monuments. Compare for example the altar of the magistri vici Aescleti, at present in the Capitoline Museum (reproduced in fig. 81).

The CUNICULI. In 1902 a net-work of subterranean passages (*cuniculi*) was discovered under the pavement of the Forum. Judging by their construction and the many fragments of vases found in them, they belong

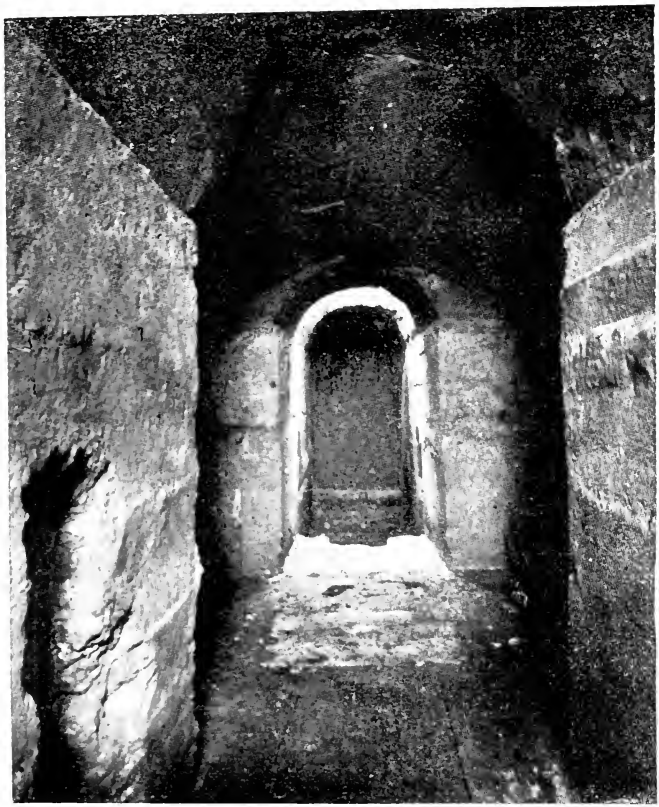


Fig. 82. Cuniculi.

to the time of Caesar and Augustus. They are passage-ways about 8 ft. high and 5 ft. broad, with walls of tufa and a vaulted roof of concrete, the top of which is about three feet under the pavement. The passages are visible from above in several places, through openings in the top of the vault where two passages cross. The main passage-way (*a a* fig. 71) about 328 ft. long, runs lengthwise

through the Forum from the column of Phocas to the temple of Caesar: it is intersected at right angles by several cross passage-way (*b b c c d d e e* fig. 71) which for the most part end in square vaulted chambers. In the centre of the floor of each chamber a large block of travertine is securely inserted: because of certain marks on these blocks and on the vaulted roof it has been thought that windlasses and hoisting machines were placed in these rooms and that the power was transmitted upwards by ropes. These machines might well have served to move heavy weights along the surface of the Forum without disturbing traffic. It is much less probable that they were used for the games in the Forum, in the first place because ever since the time of Augustus the games were transferred more and more to the buildings especially erected for the purpose (Circuses and Amphitheatres), and in the second place because for gladiatorial games (and these are about the only form of games mentioned as having taken place in the Forum) a complicated scenic apparatus was not necessary. Finally these passages were narrow and entirely shut off from the outside world, and therefore not at all suited to receive numerous pairs of gladiators who would then be raised up to the level of the Forum by the aid of the machinery.

The Brick Bases. On the southern edge of the Forum proper, opposite the front of the Basilica Julia, stand seven large square foundations of brick, originally covered with marble. In 1899 colossal columns were erected upon two of them (*l m* fig. 71). These two columns – one fluted column of pavonazzetto, and one unfluted of grey granite – were found in 1872, lying beside the foundations. The brick bases which stood upon the foundations were in 1899 restored after the model of the column of Phocas. According to the stamps

found on the bricks of these foundations, they are not older than the time of Diocletian. Possibly they were erected after the great fire in the reign of Carinus, in order to conceal to some extent the disfigured façade of the Basilica Julia. No traces have been found of the statues which probably stood upon the columns.

The Pavement of the Forum. In the travertine pavement of the Forum in many places square holes are found, which may well have served to hold poles. It is thought that these poles were used either to light the Forum or to support awnings as a protection against the sun. The first recorded use of these awnings is by the dictator Caesar: in connection with the gladiatorial games which he gave in the Forum in B. C. 46 he covered "the whole Forum as well as the Sacra Via and the Clivus as far up as the Capitol" with awnings – a performance which was more admired even than the games themselves. Later, in B. C. 23, Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, spread awnings over the Forum in order to add to the comfort of the disputants in the law-courts: "what a change", Pliny exclaims, "since the strenuous days of the censor Cato, who proposed to pave the Forum with small sharp stones to keep idlers away!" In the exceptionally hot summer of A. D. 39 the Forum was covered with awnings. Inasmuch as the travertine pavement is scarcely older than the third century A. D., the custom seems to have been preserved down into late times.

The Late Buildings on the East Side. A brick ruin opposite the north-east corner of the Basilica Julia, serving at present as a *magazzino* (*h* Pl. I and fig. 71), is all that is left of a building of a late period which once occupied the entire eastern side of the Forum

(in front of the façade of the temple of Caesar). In 1872 this building was discovered, and destroyed as a *brutta costruzione medioevale*, without any plan or accurate description of it being made. Probably however it did not belong to the middle ages but to late antiquity. The fact that a large fragment of an entablature (at present lying near the *magazzino*) containing a dedicatory inscription of the city-prefect Septimius Bassus to the emperors Gratian Valentinian and Theodosius (379-383) was found in the ruins, is of no real assistance in settling the date, since the piece may have been used merely as building material.

The so-called Equus Tremuli. Between this late construction and the temple of Caesar a concrete base (*f* fig. 71) was discovered in the summer of 1904. An attempt has been made to identify this as the base of an equestrian statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus, consul B. C. 306 and conqueror of the Hernici. But this statue, which was situated in front of the temple of Castor, had already disappeared in the time of the elder Pliny, while the newly discovered base, judging by its construction, does not seem older than the early empire. In any case it is later than the temple of Caesar, from which it takes its orientation. The possibility that it belonged to a monument for the emperor Augustus and his household is suggested by the fact that it was in this immediate neighbourhood that the fragment of a great honorary inscription (see above p. 135) of Augustus was found.

At the north side of the basis, a considerable amount of pavement from the republican epoch has been discovered; it is composed of slabs of green tufa (*cappellaccio*) and is lying 1.70 m. below the level of the imperial epoch.

XXIV. The **Temple of Divus Julius.** On the east side of the Forum is a large concrete core, in the front of which has been cut a semi–circular niche, at present partly covered by a wooden roof. It belongs to the temple of Caesar.

When on March 15th, B. C. 44, the dictator Caesar was killed in the Curia of Pompey, his followers carried his body to the Forum (see above p. 18); and there Antony delivered that famous speech by means of which he excited the populace to a passionate enthusiasm for him who had been slain. From the tribunal of the praetor chairs, tables and boardings were fetched, and in front of the Regia an extemporized funeral–pyre was built, upon which the body was burned. The ashes were placed in the family burial–place of the Julii in the Campus Martius, and on the spot in the Forum where the body had been burned a column was erected bearing the inscription: "To the father of his country" (*parenti patriae*), and in front of it a sacrificial altar was placed.

Fig. 83.
Coin of Octavian.

Fig. 84. Coins of Hadrian.

To be sure this monument lasted but a short time: the consul Dolabella, a few weeks later, took away both the column and the altar, and laid a new pavement. But in B. C. 42 the triumvirs (Octavian, Antony, Lepidus) decided to build on the same spot a temple in honour of Caesar, who had been placed among the

gods. The temple appears on a coin of Octavian which was minted between B. C. 37 and 34: on it may be distinguished the statue of Caesar with the augur's rod (*lituus*), the comet in the pediment (see below), and in front of the portico a round altar. But the civil wars which followed delayed the actual dedication, and it was not until August 18th B. C. 29 that the temple was dedicated by Augustus. In remembrance of the events at

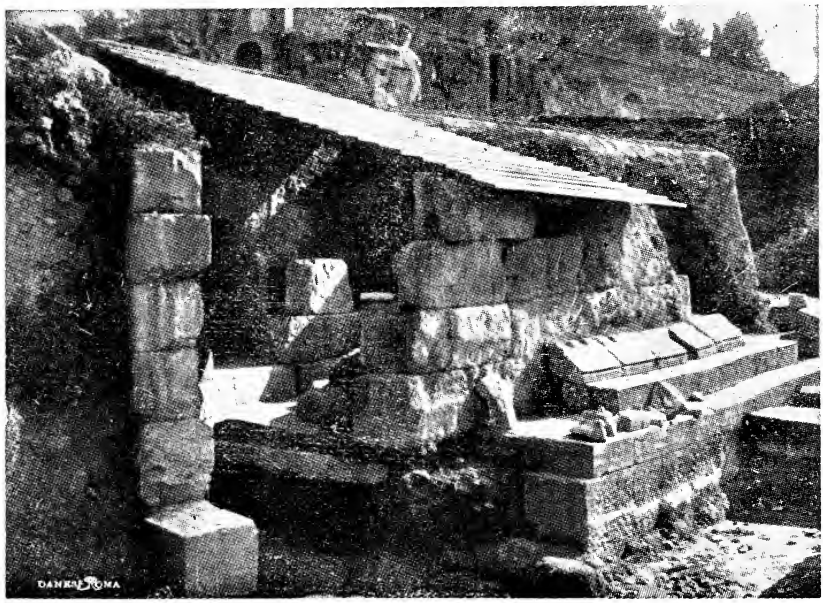


Fig. 85. The niche with the Altar of the Divus Julius.

Caesar's funeral, possibly also in remembrance of Caesar's own project to transfer the Rostra to the lower end of the Forum, the façade of the temple was very peculiarly formed: in front of the *pronaos* a platform was built which could serve as a Rostra, and which like the old Rostra was decorated with the beaks of ships, in this case trophies of the fleet of Cleopatra which had been defeated at Actium. The later history of the temple is very little known: the Rostra (*rostra ad Divi Juli*) are mentioned in connection with the funeral ceremonies of members of the imperial family. An address of Hadrian to the populace in front of the temple of Caesar is represented on the coins which are here re-

produced. In the reign of Septimius Severus the temple was injured by fire, possibly at the same time as the Regia and the temple of Vesta, but was restored: it survived the fall of paganism, but its ultimate fate is unknown.

The concrete core of the substructure has been pre-

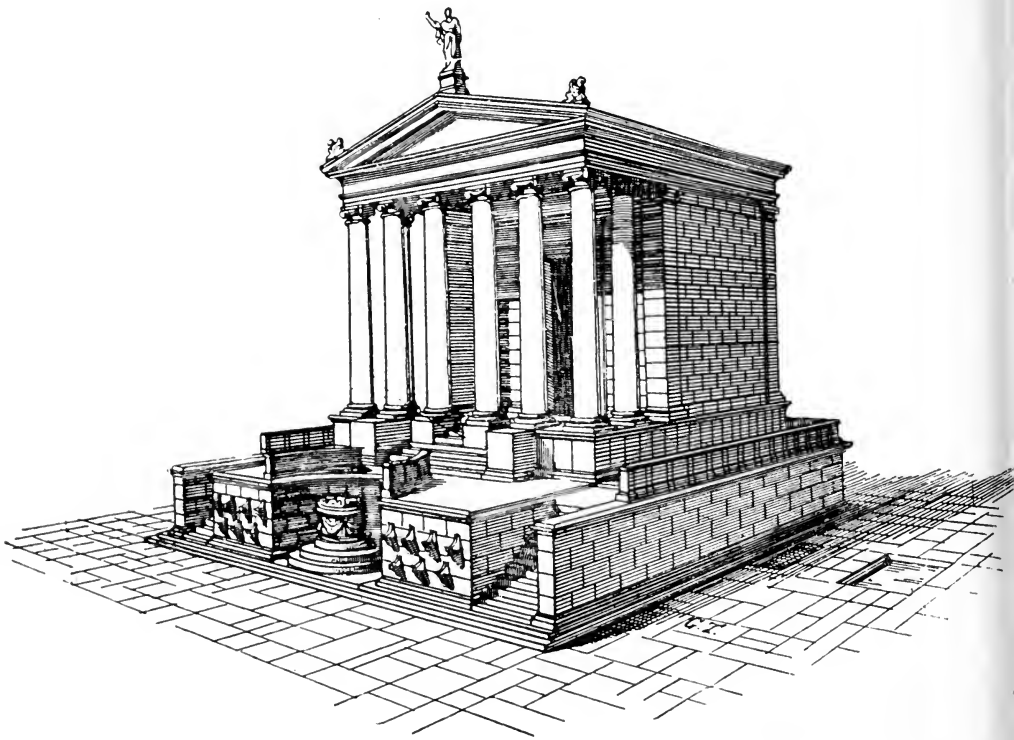


Fig. 86. Templum Divi Juli.

served: the architectural fragments of marble were carried off by the plundering excavations of the XVI. century. The semi-circular niche, with its back wall of blocks of brown tufa, which is let into the middle of the façade, is the part best preserved. In 1898 the base of a large, probably round, altar was discovered in this niche. In late antiquity the niche

itself was closed by a wall of blocks of grey-green tufa roughly joined together; probably this was done in Christian times, when the desire was felt to preserve the building as a monument of the first emperor and at the same time to prevent its use for pagan worship. On the right side and the left near the niche the façade was continued by two pieces of straight wall on which the beaks of the ships were fastened. On both sides narrow staircases led up to the platform (the Rostra), and from there a flight of a few steps led to the vestibule, which had six columns with composite capitals. In the cella stood the statue of Divus Julius, and over his forehead the comet which had appeared shortly before his death. The fragments of architecture which have been found belong mostly to the restoration of Severus and are of careless workmanship. The cella is rather shallow in proportion to its width, but the explanation for this, as well as for the curious position of the altar in the middle of the façade, is to be found in the fact that a very limited area was at the disposal of the architect.

XXV. The **Arch of Augustus.** On the south side of the temple of Caesar stood an arch which spanned the Sacra Via, and which was erected by the senate and the people in B. C. 19 in honour of Augustus and in memory of the return of the standards lost by Crassus at Carrhae in the war against the Parthians (B. C. 53). According to the coins the arch had three passage-ways: its foundations constructed of great blocks of travertine were discovered in 1888; a few remains of the marble base-moulding, which had been discovered in earlier excavations, have lately been built up

Fig. 87. Coin from the year 18/17 B. C. with the inscription *civib(us) et sign(is) milit(aribus) a Part(his) recuper(atis)*.

on the foundation (the layers of brick between the travertine and the marble blocks are modern). When the temple of Castor was enlarged (in the time of Augustus or Hadrian?) the right-hand passage of the arch was almost entirely blocked. In front of the east side of one of the middle pillars is an irregular circle of travertine blocks which used to be wrongly explained as the *Puteal Libonis (Scribonianum)*.

The Puteal Libonis, the fence, like a well-curb, which was built around the spot where lightning was "buried", stood ac-

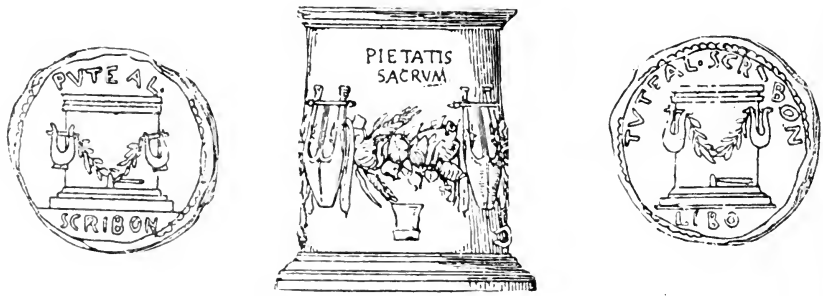


Fig. 88. The Puteal Libonis.

cording to the statements of the ancients near the temple of Castor and that of Vesta. We learn what the Puteal looked like from coins of Scribonius Libo (about B. C. 54) and from an imitation of it in marble found at Veii (now in the Lateran Museum: Fig. 88, in the middle). Near the Puteal existed, in the last period of the republic, a tribunal for iudicial sessions (called *Tribunal Aurelium* from its founder M. Aurelius Cotta consul in 74 B. C., 680 a. u. c.). The site of the Puteal cannot be more exactly ascertained because as yet no remains of it have been found.

Excavations in the spring of 1904 showed that the foundations of the arch rested upon the pavement of an older street running at right angles to the axis of the temple of Caesar. This street formed the eastern boundary

of the Forum in the time before Caesar. Between the foundations of the arch and the temple of Castor some of the so-called *pozzi rituali* (see above p. 113) have been discovered, which were formed of great slabs of travertine. They are certainly not older than the time of Augustus.

XXVI. The **Temple of Castor.** The temple of Castor (or of the *Castores* – the Dioscuri, but never in the official language *Castoris et Pollucis*) dates back to the very oldest times of the republic.

After the battle of Lake Regillus (B. C. 496), in which the royal family of the Tarquins, who had been driven from Rome, suffered a decisive defeat together with their allies the Latins, the Dioscuri, according to Roman tradition, appeared in the Forum as heralds of victory, and watered their horses at the pool of Juturna. In the same year the dictator Postumius is said to have vowed the temple, and on January 27th, B. C. 484, his son is said to have dedicated it. The temple was rebuilt by L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus after his triumph in B. C. 117, and lasted on down into the time of Augustus. Tiberius restored it and dedicated it in his own name and that of his brother in A. D. 6. Caligula incorporated the building into his palace (see below p. 171). At the beginning of the second century, probably under Trajan or Hadrian, it had to be reconstructed again, and the beautiful remains of columns and entablature date back to this reconstruction. The temple was still standing in the fourth century A. D., and we do not know when it was destroyed; but this much is certain, that in the XV. century no more of the portico was standing than stands to-day, for as early as Eugene IV. (1431–1447) mention is made in this region of a *Via trium columnarum*. The excavation of the temple, one of the most picturesque feature of the *Campo Vaccino* (see fig. 91), was begun in 1817 by Fea, and continued after 1870, but it was not until 1901 that the rear was excavated down to the ancient level.

Fig. 89. Coin of Postumius Albinus.

The core of the foundations, which extends to the Sacra Via, dates from one of the enlargements of the temple in the time of the empire. Some remains of the old building, constructed of narrow blocks of grayish-green tufa, are still preserved at several points on the west side, and in the interior of the building, where

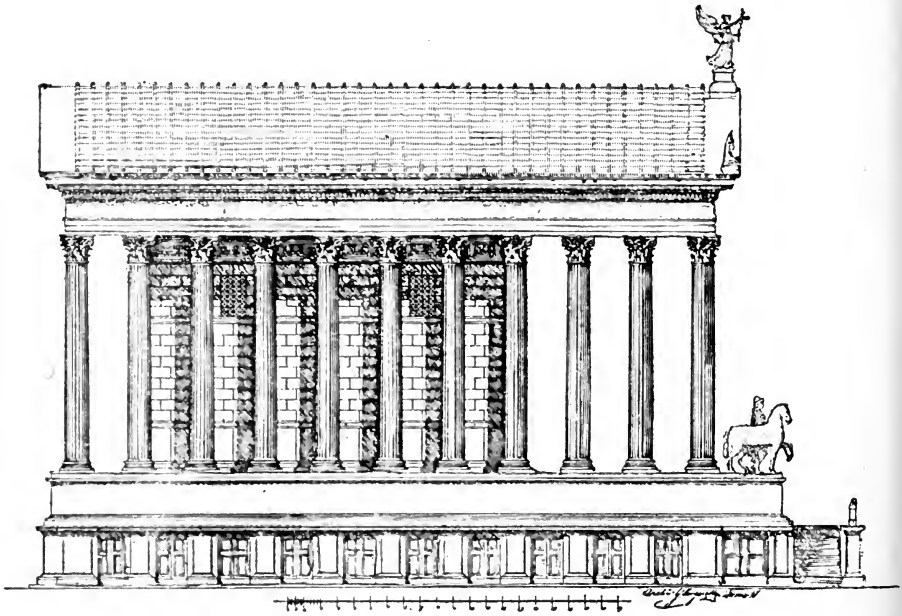


Fig. 90. Reconstruction of the east side of the temple of Castor.

they may be seen by entering a passage-way at the north-west corner. It is probable that a broad flight of steps originally led up to the vestibule. When in the course of reconstructions the cella was enlarged, this enlargement could be made only at the cost of the staircase. This staircase was reconstructed so that two small flights of steps at the sides led up to a platform and from there a broad flight of about ten steps led to the vestibule. Nothing is left of the walls of the cella, and there has been preserved only a small piece of the

Fig. 91. The temple of Castor about 1790.

pavement, a black and white mosaic which belongs possibly to the building of Tiberius. This pavement lies somewhat lower than the porticos at the side. The floor of the cella was evidently raised at the time of some later reconstruction, possibly that of Hadrian, by covering the old mosaic pavement with a more costly one composed of slabs of variegated marble (as in the temple of Concordia), but this costly pavement has naturally entirely disappeared. The rooms which have been preserved on the east side between the foundations of the columns which are still standing were possibly used for business purposes, as offices etc.; for instance we know that at the temple of Castor was situated the testing-office for weights and measures. Possibly this was a branch of the larger office of the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitoline, established here on the Sacra Via for the convenience of the jewelers. In the substructure on the west side there were probably similar rooms, but these have been destroyed.

Between the temple of Castor and the Basilica Julia runs the Vicus Tuscus. Under the basalt pavement of the empire an older pavement has been discovered consisting of small irregular bits of brick (similar to the pavement between the Rostra and the Clivus Capitolinus; see above p. 71). Up to the present nothing has been found of the shrine of Vortumnus which was situated on the Vicus Tuscus behind the temple of Castor (see above p. 13 f.). An arch of brick between the temple and the south-east corner of the Basilica Julia (near *h* Pl. I) seems to be of late construction, but its purpose is not known.

XXVII. The **Lacus Juturnae.** Opposite the three standing columns of the east portico of the Castor temple is the entrance to the sacred precinct of Juturna.

At the foot of the Palatine, Juturna, the goddess of the springs which burst forth there, was worshipped in very ancient times. She is characterized as the goddess of all those handicrafts which have to do with water, and her name is explained as "the helping one" (from *juvare*). Besides this sanctuary in the Forum, she had another temple in Rome in the Campus Martius, where she

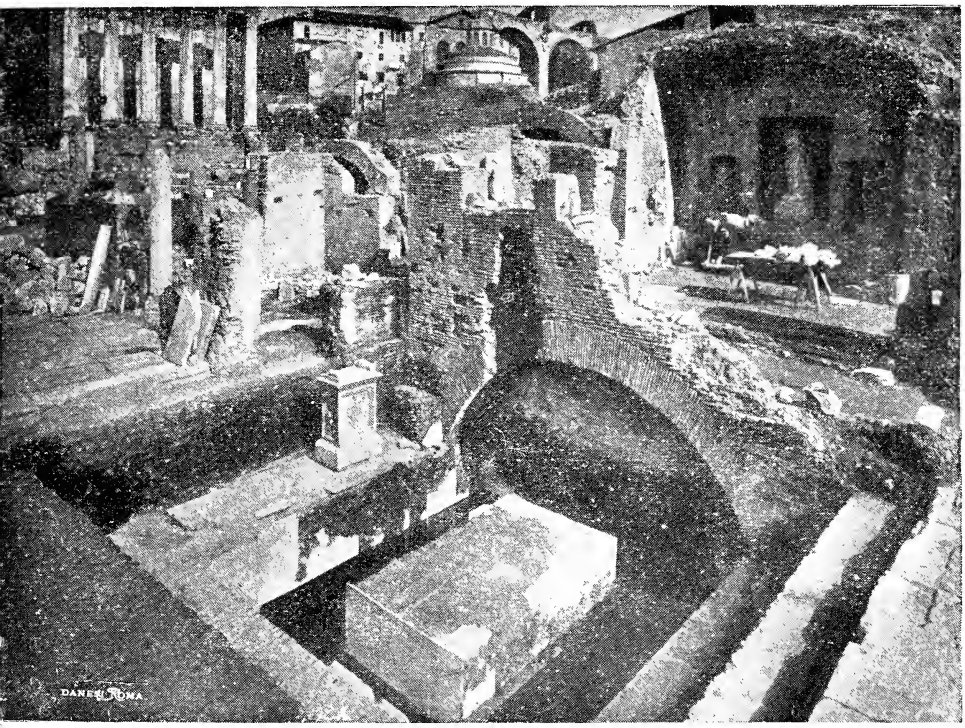


Fig. 92. The Lacus Juturnae.

was worshipped together with the nymphs. Denarii of the gens Postumia which were struck about B. C. 90 (fig. 91) give a representation of the old spring of Juturna (*lacus Juturnae*). The remains which were discovered in the excavations of 1900–1901 belong to a restoration from the Empire: in the time of Constantine a part of the rooms were used for business purposes.

We come first to the Lacus itself, a basin at present about 6 ½ ft. deep and about 16 ft. 9 in. square. It

is fed by two springs, one in the northeast and one in the northwest corner; in the middle there rises like a small island a tufa base of *opus reticulatum*; the whole

Fig. 93. The altar of the Castores.

basin was lined, at least in the time of the Empire, with slabs of white marble. On the ledge near the basin (*a* fig. 95) is a beautiful marble altar with reliefs on all four sides: on one of the small sides Juppiter with the sceptre and lightning, on the other Leda with the swan;

on one of the long sides the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux on the other a female figure with a torch in her hands. The last-named figure can scarcely be explained other-

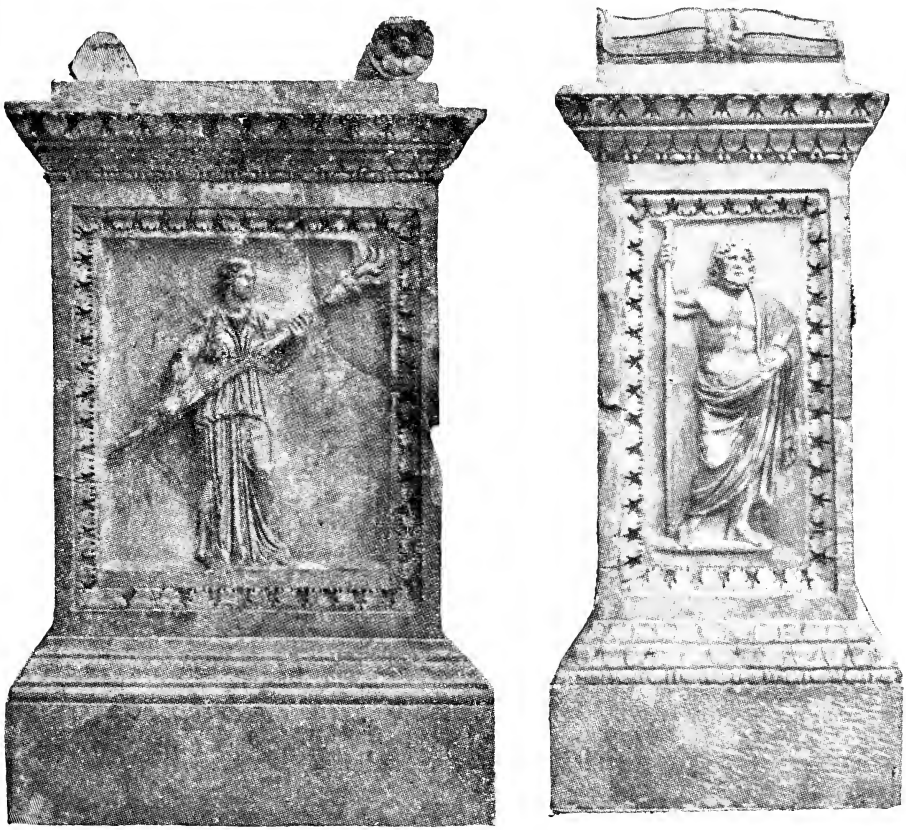


Fig. 94. The altar of the Castores.

wise than as Helen (as Selene, the goddess of light). That Helen was identified with Juturna in Roman times is nowhere stated, and it is possible that the altar originally had no connection with the Lacus but was placed in or near the temple of the Castores.

The boundary of the Lacus in the early empire is indicated by a sill of travertine (*f, g, i, k,* fig. 95), which shows traces of having supported a fence: the sill forms a square, the sides of which are about 33 ft. long. At a late epoch the eastern part of the Lacus was built over by throwing across it a large semi-circular arch of brickwork. The object of this arrangement was to widen the rooms which lay to the east between the Lacus and the staircase to the Palatine. It has been suggested that these rooms served for religious purposes. The largest room, the one in the middle, has a rectangular niche in the rear wall. Lying on the ground in front of this niche was found the statue, which has since been erected again, representing Aesculapius with an acolyte (*camillus*) holding in his hand a cock, the favorite offering to the god. Other statues of gods of healing, for example the two Dioscuri with their horses (probably an original work of the V. century B. C. from southern Italy) and an archaistic (headless) statue of Apollo, which has now been set up again, were found in the basin itself, broken into many pieces. A marble base (opposite *k*) bears witness to the use of the building for practical purposes in the IV. century. According to the inscription this vase supported a statue of Constantine which was dedicated together with the building on March 1st A. D. 328 by the head of the city water-works (*curator aquarum*) Fl. Maesius Egnatius Lollianus. The black and white mosaic in the corridor, representing water-animals and skiffs, probably dates also from this late period. In a room to the right of this corridor (*d* fig. 95) have been preserved a large number of mediaeval vases found in the Lacus.

Farther to the right is an especially well-preserved group: a small chapel (*aedicula*), probably intended for a statue of Juturna, with a spring in front of it. The

piece of the entablature with the inscription IVTVRNAI. *Sacrum* was not excavated here, but near the Lacus; in all probability however it belongs to the chapel. In front of the chapel there is still standing in its original site a beautiful round well-curb (*puteal*) of white marble, erected according to its inscription by the curule aedile

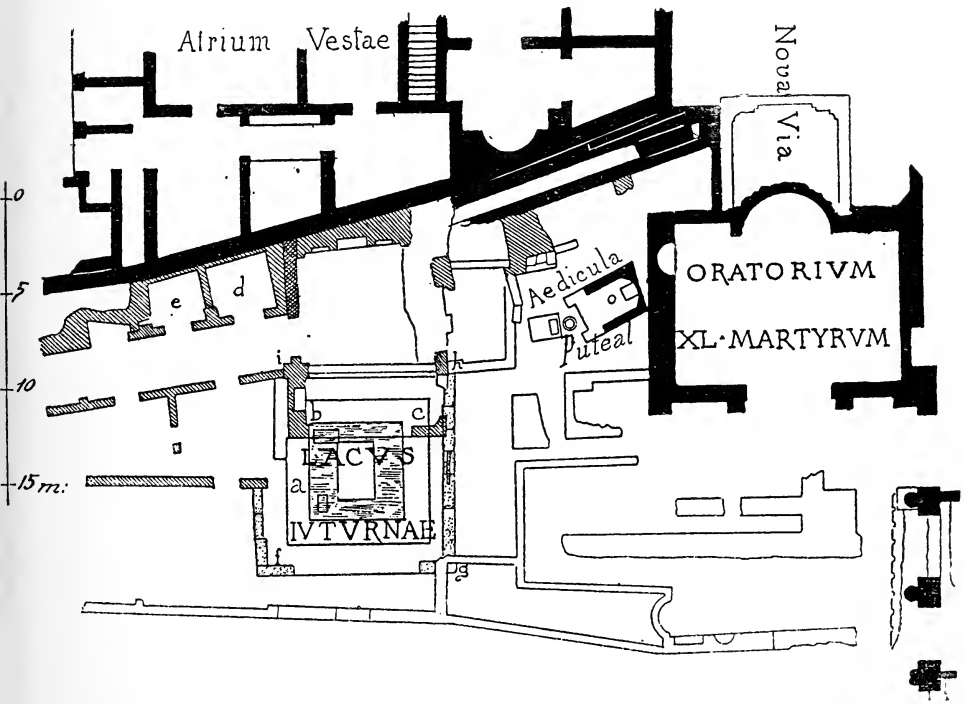


Fig. 95. The Lacus Juturnae and the Oratory of the Forty Martyrs.

M. Barbatius Pollio, probably in the time of Augustus. This well was restored in the II.–III. centuries, and was still used in later times, as is proved by the numerous grooves worn in the top of the well-curb. In Christian times the Puteal was built into a mass of brick and mortar work and in front of it a flight of steps was constructed, in the making of which a marble altar served for the top step. When it was excavated this altar was found

with the relief-side downwards, but it has recently been set up again. On it is represented Juturna with her brother Turnus, the doughty leader of the Rutuli — both of them familiar figures to the Romans, owing to Virgil's Aeneid.

Fig. 96. The Chapel and Puteal of Juturna.

XXVIII. The **Oratory of the Forty Martyrs.** The little shrine of Juturna, which we have just described, abuts against a room with an apse of good brickwork, which lies exactly in the axis of the Nova Via. The original purpose of this room is not known, but in Christian times it was changed into a small church (*oratorium*) of the Forty Martyrs.

There is a legend that during the persecution by Diocletian forty Christian soldiers in Sebaste in Armenia, who could not be

persuaded to deny the faith either by promises of reward or by actual tortures, were condemned to slowly freeze to death in an icy pond in the depths of winter. To intensify their agony the prefect Agricola provided warm baths in a house on the bank, were he who would deny the faith might straightway be refreshed. However only one of them was apostate, the others continued firm and prayed unceasingly: "Lord, forty strong we entered the battle,

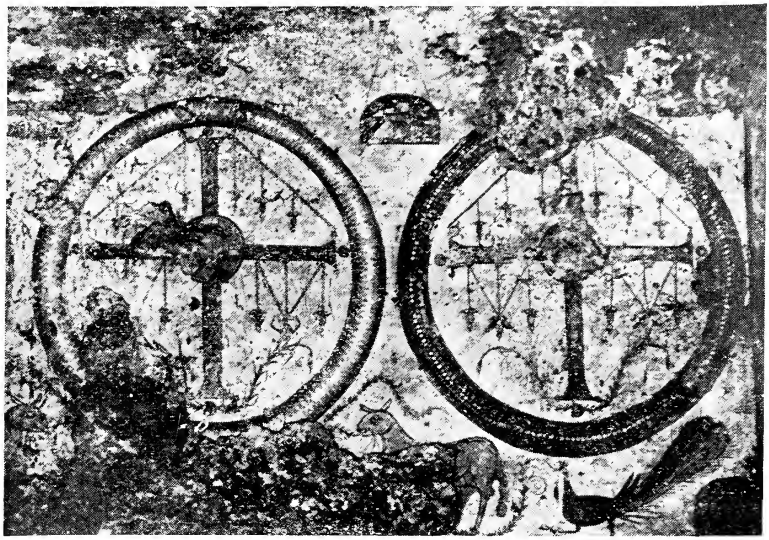


Fig. 97. Fresco in the Oratory of the Forty Martyrs.

may it be forty strong that we receive the heavenly crown!". Moved by their faithfulness the watchman in charge of the baths removed his garments, joined the soldiers as the fortieth man and suffered martyrdom together with them.

The large fresco in the apse represents the Forty Martyrs in the pond, and on the right the one who recanted, in the bathhouse, and the watchman in full armour. On the wall at the left and the adjoining part of the rear wall the Forty were represented in glory. These figures are very much injured, on the

contrary the lower part of the wall to the left near the apse is well preserved. This section contains two large Latin crosses with medallions (the head of Christ and of the Madonna?) in the centre and crowns hanging from them — an imitation of the crosses adorned with jewels and gold which were hung in the old basilicas over the graves of martyrs and served oftentimes as supports for lamps. Under the crosses are two lambs and a peacock, very like the frescoes in the catacombs. The pictures on the side wall at the right (the story of St. Antony the Hermit?) are very much injured. The chapel is paved with bits of white and variegated marble, porphyry and serpentine roughly set together.

XXIX. **S. Maria Antiqua. The Library of the temple of Divus Augustus.** Near the oratory of the Forty Martyrs is the entrance to the larger and much more richly decorated church of S. Maria Antiqua. This church was created out of a monumental building of the early Empire, the library connected with the temple of Augustus.

In the time of the republic there were probably private houses here, below the northern corner of the Palatine, where the Nova Via and the Vicus Tuscus crossed. On the Vicus Tuscus behind the temple of Castor, Tiberius built a temple for his deified father (*templum Divi Augusti*). On the coins of Caligula the temple appears as a Corinthian hexastyle, richly decorated with statues. Caligula himself used the temple as a support for his bridge from the Palatine to the temple of Juppiter on the Capitoline; and he also extended the palace of Tiberius towards the Forum so that the temple of Castor became the vestibule of the palace. In Nero's fire the temple was destroyed, but Domitian rebuilt it and founded behind it a sanctuary for his favourite goddess Minerva. "At the Minerva behind the temple of Divus Augustus" — so numerous inscriptions read — were posted every year the great bronze tablets containing the names of the soldiers from the auxiliary troops and the fleet who were discharged after faithful service and

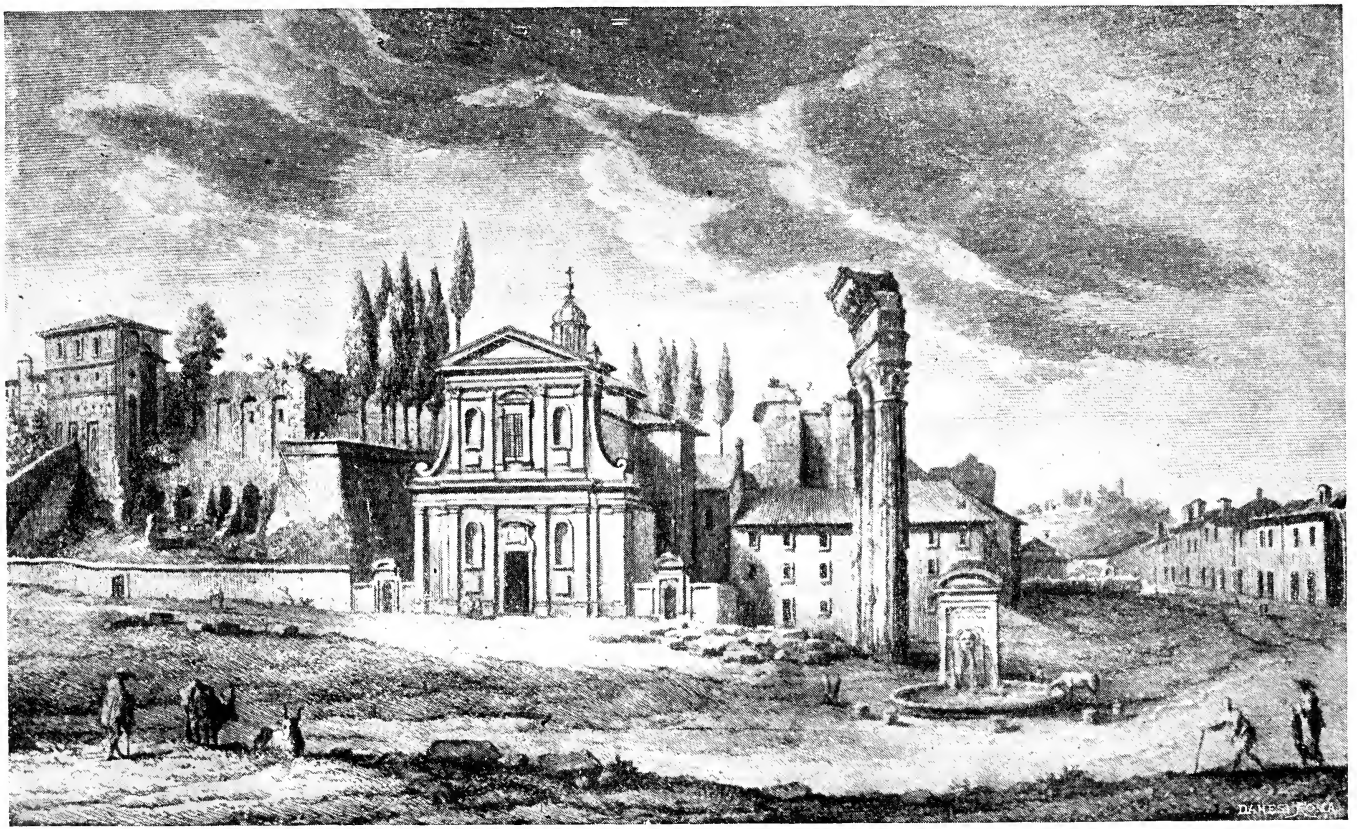


Fig. 98. S. Maria Liberatrice and the Farnese Gardens in the year 1750.

honoured with many special privileges (the right of marriage, of citizenship etc.). But Minerva was patron-goddess not only of these "archives of the war department" but also of a library which was founded by Tiberius and restored by Domitian after the fire. The temple was again restored by Antoninus Pius, as his coins prove. The story of its ultimate destruction is unknown. — In Christian times, possibly even before the VI. century, a chapel of the Madonna was built in the library. In the VII. and VIII. centuries this chapel was several times enlarged and freshly decorated, for example under Martin I. (649–653), but more especially under John VII. (705–708), whose biographer tells us that he "decorated

Fig. 99. Coin of Caligula.

Fig. 100. Coin of Antoninus Pius, A. D. 161
Templum Divi Aug(usti) rest(itutum).

with paintings the Basilica of the Mother of God, which is called Antiqua, and made there an ambon of marble". Paul I. (757–767) and Hadrian I. (772–793) interested themselves in the decoration of the church. It seems that during the time of the iconoclasts Greek monks, to whom the church and the neighbouring cloister in the temple of Augustus had been entrusted, did their share in making them more beautiful. — In the ninth century, however, the imperial palaces situated on the height of the Palatine, possibly shaken by a great earthquake, began to threaten the church which lay under the cliff so that Pope Leo IV. (845–857) had to abandon the imperilled Basilica to its fate and in its stead to build a new one, S. Maria Nova, in the ruins of the temple of Venus and Roma. Probably soon after this the falling walls of the Domus Tiberiana buried the church, and it is thanks to this burial that the frescoes have been preserved so fresh to the present day.

The site of the ruined church was considered as haunted in the late middle ages: the Mirabilia (see above p. 34) calls it "*Infernus*" and tells, with a curious adaptation of the old Roman legend of Curtius (see above p. 145), how a knight voluntarily met his death here in order to free the city from an evil fire-breathing dragon. In the XIII. century, almost exactly on the site of S. Maria Antiqua, but on a higher level, a little church was built which was called *S. Maria libera nos a poenis inferni,* or in its shorter form S. Maria Liberatrice. In 1702, when some digging was being done for the purpose of finding building materials, a part of the old basilica (the rear wall of the Presbyterium with the apse) was accidentally discovered but promptly filled in again. In 1900–1901 the church of S. Maria Liberatrice was demolished, and the basilica was excavated and carefully restored.

We enter first, behind the south-east corner of the temple of Castor, an almost square courtyard, the side walls of which have niches for colossal statues. On the right side this court is connected with the cella of the temple of Augustus by a low doorway (*a* fig. 101; near it is an opening broken through in the middle ages and showing remains of frescoes), and on the left side with the inclined-plane which leads up to the Palatine (see p. 188). The walls of the court were originally veneered with marble, and it was probably on the lower part of these walls that the tablets of honorable discharge from the army (*tabulae honestae missionis*, see above p. 172) were fastened.

In the middle of the court and at an oblique angle is a large and rather long basin, on one of the narrow sides of which is a flight of steps leading down into it. This basin continues on under the foundations of the "Quadriporticus", of which we are to speak in a moment, and must therefore be older than it. This basin is in all probability the "impluvium" of a palace: it has such very large dimensions (29 $^1/_2$ ft. by 82 ft.) that it can scarcely have belonged to a private house

of the early empire. Probably it formed a part of the buildings of Caligula: as a matter of fact a fragment of

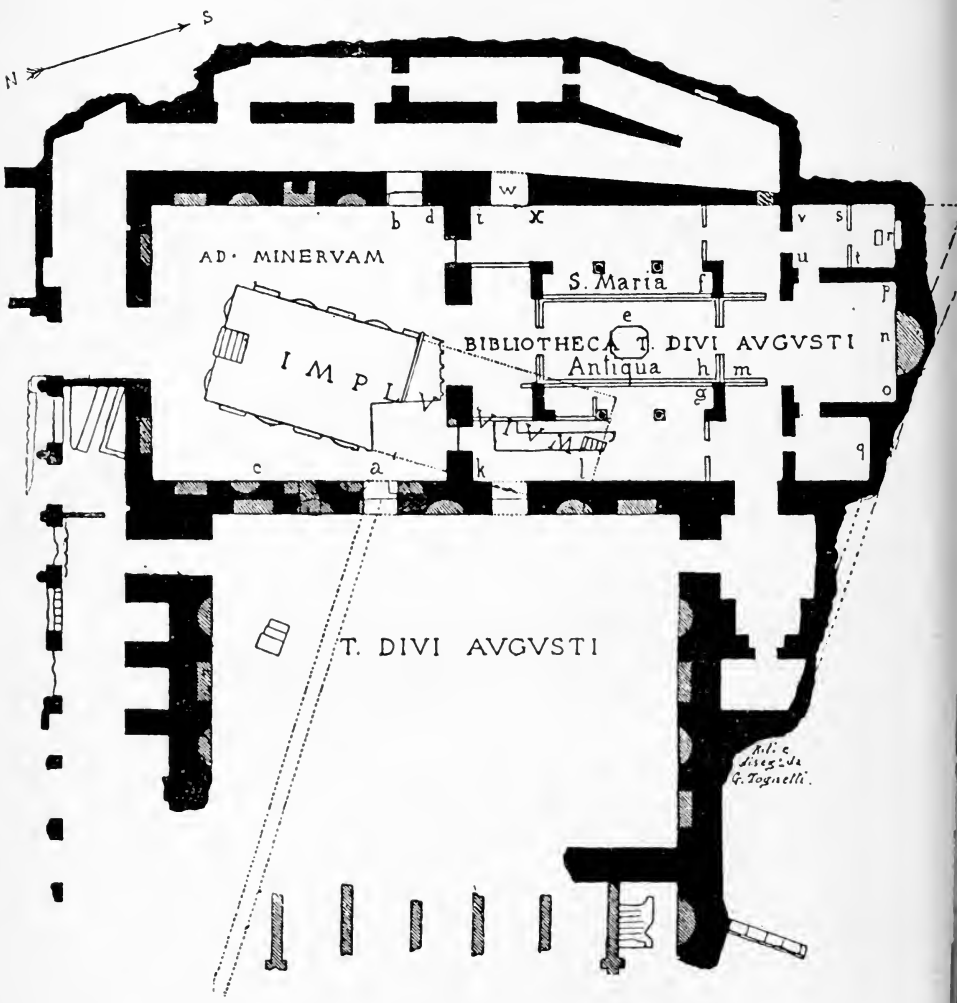


Fig. 101. The temple of Augustus, the library, S. Maria Antiqua.

an inscription in his honour (...MANICI . F . is all that is left) was found in the basin when the excavations were made.

In Christian times this "Court of Minerva" was made into the vestibule of the church, and all the walls were decorated with frescoes.

As regards the date a picture on the right wall (near *c* fig. 101) is of importance: a pope with a square blue nimbus (which was employed in Byzantine art to indicate living dignitaries of the church and the state) is handing a book to the Madonna. The name of the pope seems to have been ADRIANVS, and accordingly the paintings were executed under Hadrian I (772–793). On

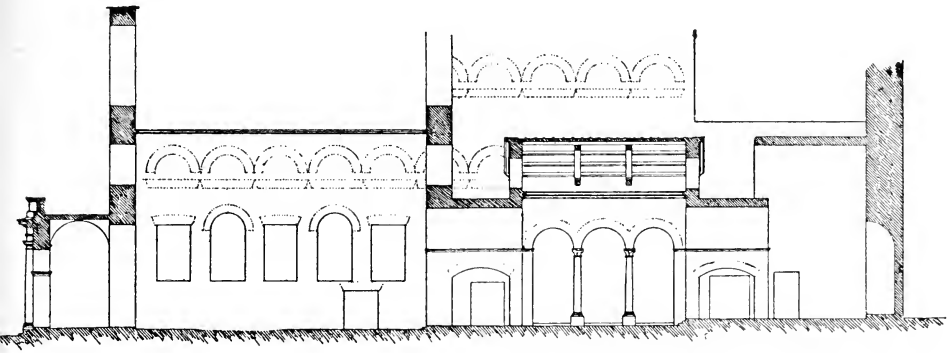


Fig. 102. Bibliotheca templi Divi Augusti, cross-section.

the opposite wall is a colossal head of St. Abbacyrus, and the remains of a scene representing the legend of St. Antony the Hermit.

A large middle portal and two side-doors lead into the chief room of the library, a "Quadriporticus", which is supported by four square brick pillars and four granite columns with marble capitals. It is uncertain whether this middle room was originally open to the sky, and not roofed over until Christian times. Behind the "Quadriporticus" are three rooms, a larger one (about 28 ft. by 23 ft. in the middle, and two smaller ones (about 15 ft. by 23 ft. and 15 ft. by 16 ft.), one on each side. Two other side rooms, accessible from the right aisle of the "Quadriporticus", extend up to the south side of the

temple of Augustus. The "Quadriporticus" itself served probably as the reading-room of the library, the other rooms as the 'stack'. This arrangement corresponds to the rules laid down by Vitruvius, and is analogous to that of other libraries, for example that at Pergamon, at Timgad and at Ephesus. The building

Fig. 103. The Quadriporticus.

faces the north-east, so as to have the full morning light, inasmuch as the ancients preferred the morning hours for their work; toward the south and the south-west it is hermetically sealed, as Vitruvius recommends, in order that the scirocco, the burning afternoon sun, and the injurious insects which thrive in the heat may be shut out as much as possible. The position of the whole building, in the centre of the city, a few steps from

the Forum and the imperial palaces, and yet removed as much as possible from the noise of traffic, is admirably suited for a library.

In Christian times, a church dedicated to the Madonna was made out of the building by using the "Quadriporticus" as the nave and side-aisles, the middle room as the presbytery and the adjacent rooms as chapels. The pavement was very roughly restored with large slabs of grey granite. In the middle of the court (near *e* fig. 101) is an octagonal bit of brickwork, possibly the substructure of an ambon. An octagonal slab of marble, lying at present in the left aisle, shows on its upper surface traces of a grill or rail of metal, and belonged also to an ambon. On the edges is the inscription: *Iohannes servu(s) s(an)c(t)ae M(a)riae* – Ἰωάννου δούλου τῆς θεωτόκου: it belonged accordingly to the ambon of John VII, which was referred to above.

Of the four granite columns which separate the nave and the side-aisles, the second one on the left still shows traces of stucco and painting. On the pillar to the left of the presbytery (*f* fig. 101) two layers of stucco are preserved, one above the other, both of them with a representation of the Annunciation; on the pillar to the right (*g*) a beautiful single figure, Saint Solomone, the mother of the seven brothers who were martyred by Antiochus of Syria (II. Maccab. ch. 7). The outside of the partitions which formed the presbytery was painted with scenes from the Old Testament; in the corner to the right (*h* fig. 101) Judith, with her maid, carrying the head of Holofernes (CAPVT *Olofernis*).

In the left aisle the decoration on the lower half of the wall is especially well preserved.

Above a dado which is an imitation of hanging tapestries is a band containing figures three quarters life-size: in the midst Christ on the throne, with his right hand raised in the attitude of blessing, and holding in his left hand the gospels bedecked with jewels. To the left of him are nine Greek saints and

church fathers (Johannes Chrysostomus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil, Petrus Alexandrinus, Cyrillus, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Nicolaus, Erasmus): on his right eleven Latin ones (Clemens, Silvester, Leo, Alexander, Valentine, Abundius, Euthymius, Sabbas (?), Sergius, Gregory [the Great], Bacchus): all the names are written in Greek. On the upper strip of the wall are two rows of oblong pictures, the scenes being taken from the Old Testament. The first seven pictures of the upper row have been destroyed; inasmuch as the

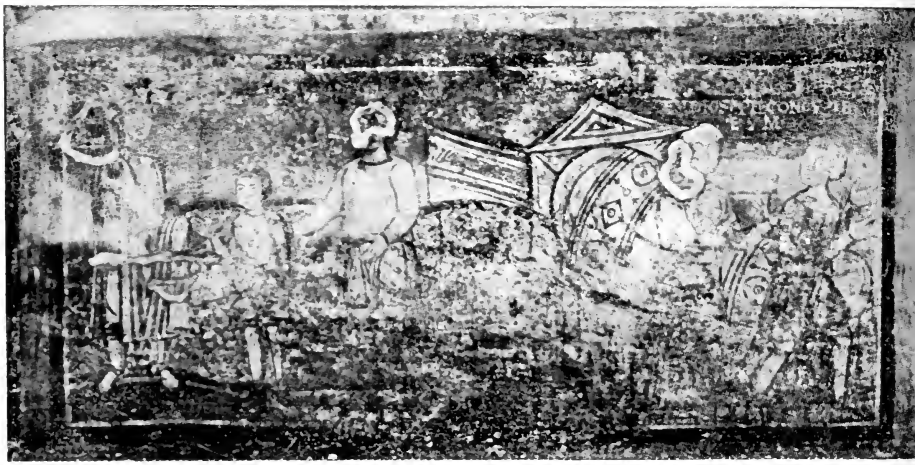


Fig. 104. The story of Joseph.

eighth one, of which faint traces have been preserved, represented the offering of Cain and Abel, and the murder of Abel, the first seven pictures were probably devoted to the seven days of creation. There follow: Noah's entrance into the ark; the flood; the offering of Noah (all very much injured). In the lower row the scenes are continued in the history of the patriarchs: Jacob's dream at Bethel (?); Jacob wrestling with the angel; Joseph relating his dream to his father and his brethren. The pictures which follow are better preserved: Joseph sold by his brethren (*ubi joseph* VENVNDATVS EST IN EGVPTO A FRATRIBVS SVIS); Joseph in the house of Potiphar (fig. 104); Joseph in prison (VBI JOSEPH DVCITVR IN CARCERE); the pardon of Pharaoh's cup-bearer. These frescoes, all of them with Latin inscriptions,

are by a different artist from those of the lower row, probably by a Roman painter from the beginning of the VIII. century.

Near the entrance to the staircase which leads to the Palatine is a marble sarcophagus (near *x*, fig. 101) with Christian sculptures, found under the pavement of the church, but much older than the church. It dates from the III.–IV. centuries, and was accordingly used here for the second time. In the middle of the front are a man reading and a woman praying (the faces are not worked out in the marble but are intended to be filled out in

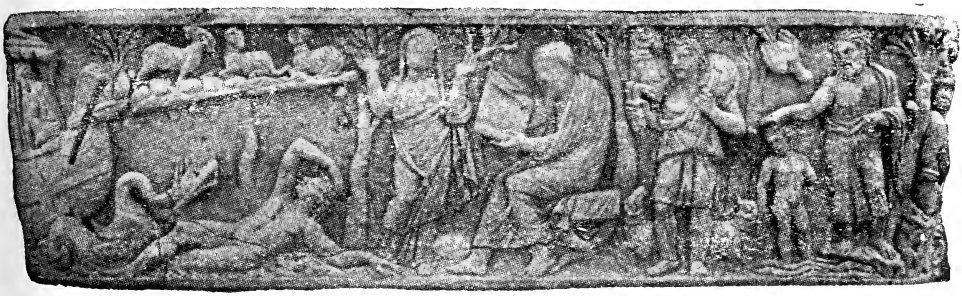


Fig. 105. Christian Sarcophagus in S. Maria Antiqua.

stucco): on the left is the story of Jonah, showing how he was thrown into the sea, cast up by the whale, and is now resting under the gourd: on the right the Good Shepherd, the baptism of Christ, and two fishermen in a boat.

In the corner (near *i*) is another sarcophagus, which was also found under the pavement, and is decorated with tragic and comic masks. It belonged originally to a pagan tomb.

In the right aisle near the entrance (near *k*) is an ancient sarcophagus which bears a dedicatory inscription by a centurion of the tenth city-cohort, L. Caelius Florentinus, to his wife Clodia Secunda, who died June 17th A. D. 207, aged 25 years 10 months and 14 days, and

who had lived in wedlock with him and without a dispute ever having arisen between them (*sine querella*) for 7 years 4 months and 18 days. This sarcophagus was used here for the second time: its original position was probably on one of the great Roman roads, for example the Appian Way.

The upper half of the wall is occupied by two rows of oblong pictures which correspond to the scenes from the Old Testament in the left aisle. As far as can be judged from the traces that are left, they contained scenes from the New Testament (Zacharias and Anna, the birth of Christ, the presentation of the Magi). In the lower half of the wall a small niche (*l* fig. 101) is especially well preserved, containing frescoes representing three female figures: Mary with the infant Jesus, Anna with the child Mary, Elisabeth with John. This picture too dates from the VIII. century.

From the central nave we reach the *schola cantorum* and the presbytery by ascending three steps.

Inside the *schola cantorum* on the right are two well-preserved pictures: the sick Hezekiah (HEZECHIAS REX), to whom the prophet (ISAIAS PROFETA) is giving his message: "Set thine house in order, for thou shall die" (DISPONE DOMVI TVAE QVIA MORIERIS); in the background is a servant with a fan on the end of a pole (*flabellum*). Nex to it is David's victory over Goliath, where the victorious shepherd-boy is represented as very much larger than the giant who lies at his feet (fig. 106). The presbytery is an adaptation of the main room of the library. The side walls have at the bottom a dado with tapestry motives. Above it are the heads of the apostles (on the left, with inscriptions: BA*r*THo*L*O*meus*, IOHANNES, ANDREAS, PAVLVS; the right side is almost entirely destroyed), and still higher up pictures from the New Testament in two rows, one above the other. The best preserved are the two at the end of the left wall (near *p*): above, the adoration of the Magi; below, Simon carrying the cross (inscription SIMON CYRENENSIS). The upper row to the right was very much injured by the use of the pick in preparation for

putting on a later layer of stucco. It contained the end of the gospel story, from the Resurrection to the Ascension.

In the semi-circular apse (*n* fig. 101) which was later built by breaking through the thick brick wall, several layers of frescoes have been found one over the other: on the uppermost is a standing figure of Christ surrounded by cherubim with six wings; before him stands the Madonna, who is presenting a pope to him. The pope has the square blue nimbus with his name written beside it: SANCTISSIMVS PAVLVS PP ROMANVS: accord-

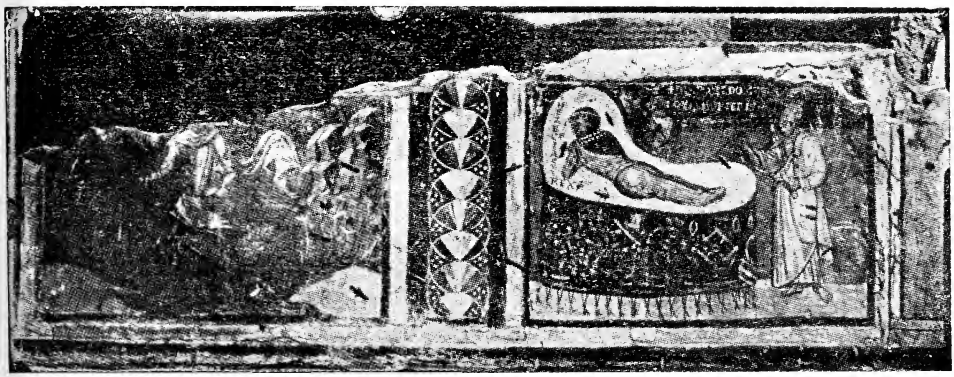


Fig. 106. David and Goliath. – King Hezekiah.

ingly this layer dates from the time of Paul I. (757–765). Nothing is left of the next under layer except a Greek inscription from the time of John VII.

On the part of the wall to the right near the apse (*o*) the different layers may be very clearly distinguished (see fig. 107). On the lowest layer (which was painted before the apse was constructed) the Madonna is represented clad in a wonderful Byzantine garment adorned with jewels, seated on a throne and receiving the homage of angels. The second layer contained a representation of the Annunciation: only the head of the Madonna (close to the left edge) and that of the angel (on the right, at the top, see fig. 107) are preserved. The head of the angel surpasses in artistic perfection all the other paintings in the church. The third layer was decorated with pictures of the church fathers: two heads, each adorned with a circular gold nimbus, have been preserved; accord-

ing to the (Greek) inscriptions they are Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil. In the lower half of the wall only the second layer is well

Fig. 107. Three layers of frescoes from S. Maria Antiqua.

preserved: two church fathers with parchment rolls on which are long quotations from the works of St. Basil and Johannes Chrysostomus. In the left of the apse (*b*), near the base, some of the first layer has been well preserved; it is decorated in imitation of slabs

of variegated marble. The second layer is especially well seen here: it contains pictures of Leo the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus. All the quotations which occur here are found in the acts of the council of the Lateran in the year 649, when Pope Martin I. condemned the doctrines of the Monothelites (who denied the twofold will of Christ); accordingly the frescoes of the second layer date from the second half of the VII. century. In the topmost (third) layer a few traces of drapery are visible, and above them on a red background an inscription in white letters: SCAE DI.....CI. SEM.....IAE, that is to say: *Sanctae Dei genetrici semperque virgini Mariae.* On the other side of the apse followed the name of the dedicant.

In the triangles near the upper edge of the apse, on the left and the right, are the figures of four popes: the second one on the right-hand side has the inscription MAR*tinus* P*a*P*a* ROMANVS: the second one on the left has a square blue nimbus. Higher up is a broad red stripe with inscriptions in Greek, for the most part Messianic prophecies from the minor prophets (Amos, Zechariah etc.); above in the lunette Christ on the cross, adored by angels in white garments. This part of the wall was excavated in 1702, and, as the old drawings prove, was at that time in a more complete state of preservation.

The chapel at the right of the presbytery (*q* fig. 101) served perhaps originally as a *diaconium*, a sacristy for the holy books, vessels and instruments: in it very few remains of frescoes have been preserved.

On the rear wall SS. Cosmas, Abbacyrus, Stephanus, Procopius, Damianus, on the side wall to the right SS. Barachisius, Dometius, Pantaleo, Celsus, on the entrance wall SS. Johannes, Abbacyrus. These pictures date probably from the VIII. century.

The chapel to the left of the presbytery contains the most interesting and the best preserved paintings, but even these have suffered very considerably in the eight years that have elapsed since their excavation. The chapel is divided in the centre by a low railing of marble:

the foundations of a marble altar have been preserved in front of the middle of the rear wall.

In the niche over the altar is a remarkably well-preserved

Fig. 108. Crucifixion from S. Maria Antiqua.

picture of the Crucifixion (fig. 108): the Saviour, clothed in a long greyish-blue *colobium*, has his eyes open and appears to be alive, although the soldier (LONGINVS) has already pierced his side. To the right and the left of the cross are Mary and John, and

between John and the cross is another soldier with the sponge and the vessel of vinegar; over the arms of the cross are the sun and the moon, hiding their light. The composition bears a strong resemblance to a mosaic, now destroyed, from the chapel of John VII. in St. Peter's (fragments in the Grottos of the Vatican).

Below the niche is a row of figures, three quarters life-size: in the centre the Madonna, clad in a splendid Byzantine garment, and seated on a throne, to the right and the left Peter and Paul, then the titulary saints of the chapel, the boy Quiricus on the right and his mother Julitta on the left. At the end are two figures characterized as living persons by the use of the square blue nimbus: on the left Pope Zacharias (741–752) with the gospels in his hand (see fig. 109); on the right a man in priestly garments, carrying in his hands the model of a church. Around the nimbus is the inscription (see fig. 110): *Theodotus primicerio defensorum et dispensatore sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae quae appellatur antiqua.* The man here represented is known as the uncle of Pope Hadrian I. (772–795), and the founder of the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria. On the side walls in a series of eight pictures is portrayed the history of St. Quiricus and St. Julitta, who suffered the martyr's death at Tarsus in Cilicia. On the left wall: 1) the mother Julitta before the Praeses Alexander; 2) Quiricus is imprisoned (*ubi scs* CVIRICVS A MILITIBVS DVCITVR); 3) almost entirely destroyed: Quiricus confesses Christianity; 4) Quiricus is flogged (VBI SCS CVIRICVS CATOMVLEBATVS EST); 5) Quiricus continues to preach before Alexander, even after his tongue is torn out (VBI SCS CVIRICVS LINGVA ISCISSA LOQVITVR AT PRESIDEM); 6) the mother and son in prison. On the right wall: 7) they are both tortured in a red-hot pan (VBI SCS CVIRICVS CVM MATRE SVAM IN SARTAGINE MISSI SVNT); 8) iron nails are driven into Quiricus's head (VBI SCS CVIRICVS ACVTIBVS CONFICTVS EST), and the head itself is finally crushed on the steps of the tribunal. On the front half of the side wall to the right, between the marble rail and the door to the presbytery, are the frescoes of another painter: the Madonna adored by a noble family, probably that of the founder Theodotus; especially noteworthy are the well preserved figures of two children with the square blue nimbus. On the entrance wall to the left near the door:

Theodotus (?) with two large wax-candles in his hands kneels before Quiricus and Julitta. On the right near the door is an aged saint (SCS ARMENTIS E = *S Armenti(u)s e*.....) and three women;

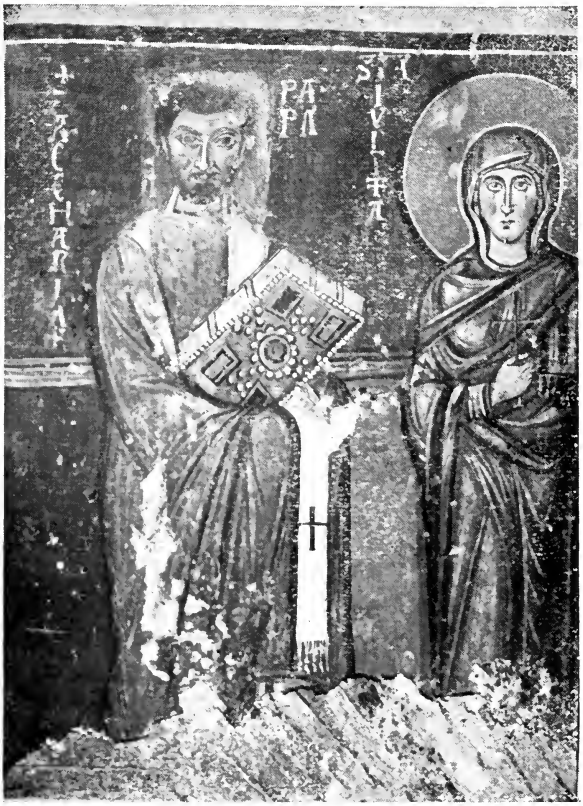


Fig. 109. Pope Zacharias.

above, the inscription: *q(u)orum nomina d(eu)s sc(i)t*: 'whose names God knoweth'.

Returning through the left aisle we find at the end (near *w*) a door (on the wall at the right a fresco representing the descent of Christ to the Lower World) leading into a large vaulted passage in which rises

a gently inclined plane, interrupted by steps at a few points.

The second landing communicates with the first floor

Fig. 110. Theodotus the primicerius.

of the house of the Vestals, which can be well seen from this point of vantage, and with the Nova Via; higher up we reach the roof of the library, where there is a good view of S. Maria Antiqua, and, in the other direction, of the excavations on the north slope of the Palatine (see below p. 192). A fourth landing leads to the

Clivus Victoriae, where the inclined plane joins the staircase from the temple of Vesta (see fig. 123). [At this point it is proposed to open an entrance to the excavations on the Palatine]. Other staircases led from this corner up to the Domus Tiberiana.

We now return to the "Court of Minerva", and crossing it obliquely enter through a low door (*a* fig. 101) the cella of the temple of Augustus.

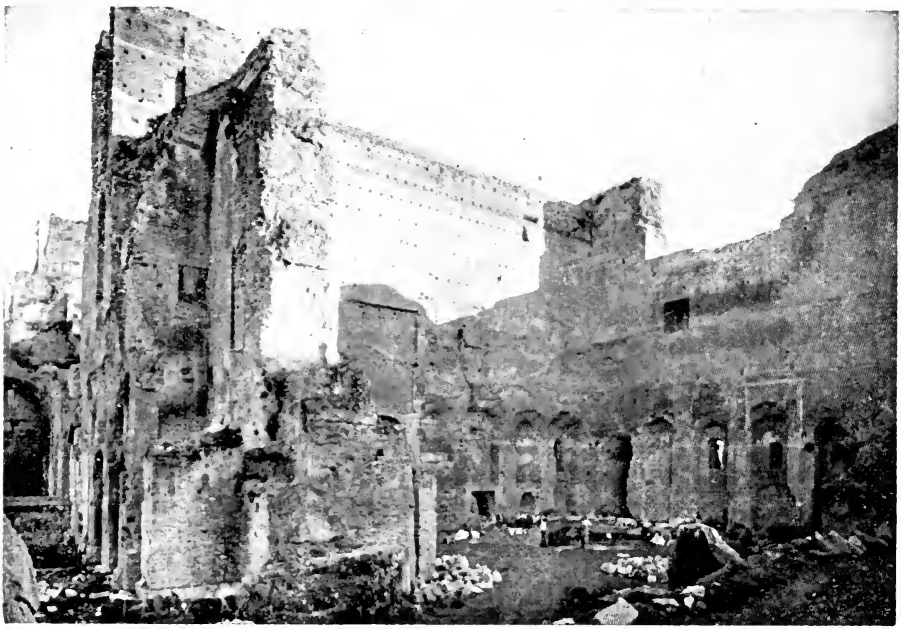


Fig. 111. The ruins of the temple of Augustus.

XXX. The **Temple of the Divus Augustus**. The temple of Augustus (for its history see p. 171 f.) consisted of an almost square (92 ft. × 105 ft.) cella, and a vestibule which opened upon the Vicus Tuscus. The walls of the cella contain niches for colossal statues of the emperors who were worshipped here; in the central niche, according to the coin of Pius (fig. 98, p. 172), there stood two statues, probably Augustus and Livia,

and in the other niches the emperors who were later consecrated (up to the middle of the II. century these are Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and in addition several of the empresses). The walls of brick (many of the bricks are stamped with inscriptions

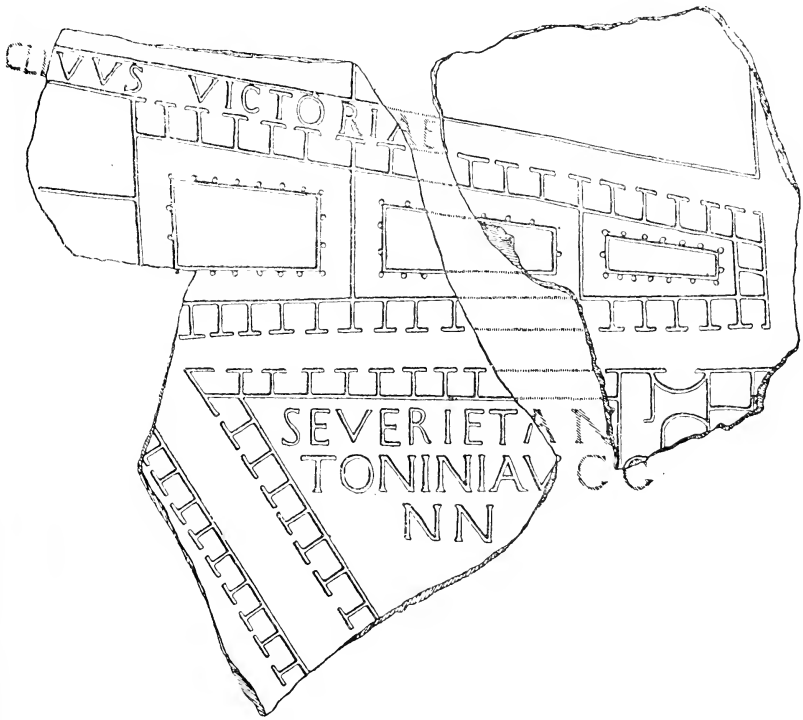


Fig. 112. Fragments of the Forma Urbis.

from the time of Domitian) were veneered with marble. The windows high up on the side walls prove that the room was roofed over. Probably the cella had an artistically decorated wooden roof, since it is not likely that a vault of so great a span could disappear without leaving any traces.

The vestibule was originally an oblong room (105 ft. by 20 ft.) with semi-circular niches at both ends. Later,

to add to its stability, six cross-walls of brick were built. In the southernmost of the rooms thus created are to be seen the foundations of a staircase leading up to the roof of the vestibule, which was considerably lower than that of the cella. The façade on the Vicus Tuscus had eight columns, as the coins show.

On the southern side of the temple of Augustus were found remains of large buildings which do not seem to have been either dwelling-houses or temples; they are vaulted rooms built of tufa blocks and grouped about courtyards having the shape of trapezoids. They belonged probably to a great bazaar, the *horrea Germaniciana et Agrippiana*, which in the Region-book from the time of Constantine is mentioned as in the eighth region, and the ground-plan of which, along with the Clivus Victoriae, is preserved on the Forma Urbis (see fig. 112). The best view is to be obtained from the roof of S. Maria Antiqua (see above p. 189).

Leaving the vestibule of the temple of Augustus, we turn to the right and pass along the back of the temple of Castor, where the beautiful fragments of capitals and entablature, which were excavated here in 1902, are worthy of notice. On the right is the side wall of the temple of Divus Augustus, strengthened by powerful buttresses; and along the street runs a portico with brick pillars, fronted by engaged columns. In Christian times the churchyard of S. Maria Antiqua was situatedhere. Tombs were hollowed out in the brick walls, and some of them still contain skeletons and remains of inscriptions and frescoes.

Returning between the temple of Castor and the Lacus Juturnae and passing the arch of Augustus we reach the east boundary of the Forum, where the Sacra Via begins; on our left lies the Regia, on our right the temple of Vesta and the house of the Vestals.

XXXI. The **Regia.** Practically nothing remains of the Regia except the foundations, some of which belong

to a building from Republican times and some to one from the early empire.

According to Roman tradition, Numa Pompilius lived at the beginning of the Sacra Via and gave his own royal residence (*regia*) to the chief-priest (*pontifex maximus*) as a dwelling-place. In

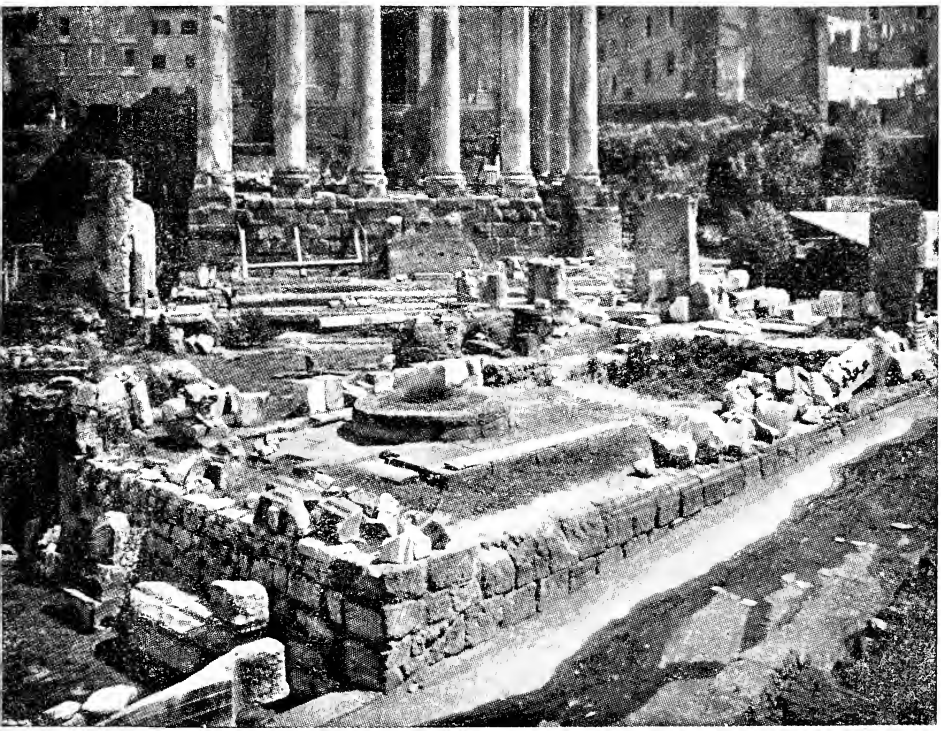


Fig. 113. The remains of the Regia.

historical times however the Regia was not the actual residence of the chief-priest but merely his office. Here were preserved the archives containing the data collected each year by the pontifex maximus, relating to the magistrates, the events of war, prodigies, calamities, etc. (out of these yearly tables was developed the earliest Roman historical work, the *annales maximi*). Besides this the Regia contained several small chapels (*sacraria*), notably one belonging to Mars in which the sacred spears of the god and the shields (*ancilia*) of the Salii were preserved. Another chapel was

sacred to Ops, the goddess of the harvest, and was considered so holy that no one was allowed to enter it except the pontifex maximus and the Vestal virgins. In B. C. 648 and again in B. C. 36 the Regia was injured by fire, but Domitius Calvinus, the conqueror

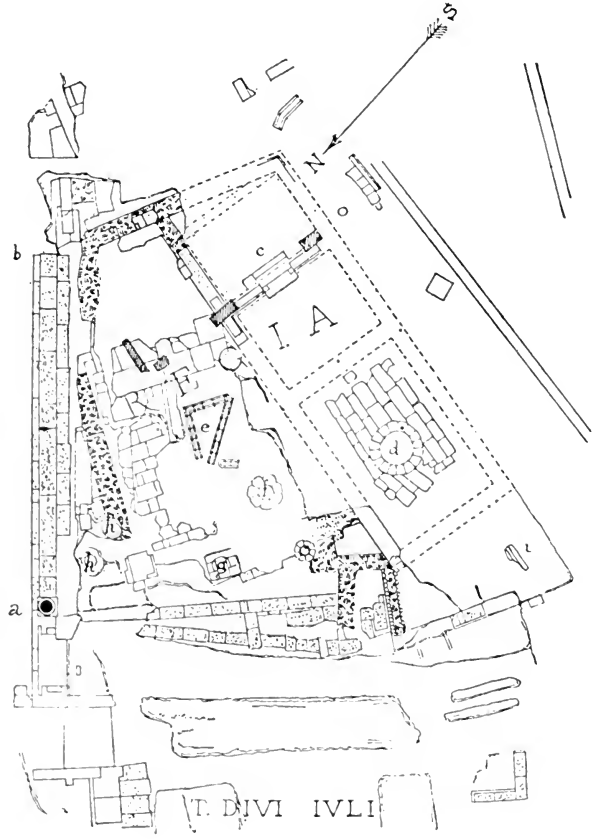


Fig. 114. Ground-plan of the Regia.

of Spain, restored it again in magnificent fashion: it was at this time that the outside of the walls was decorated with the list of the highest magistrates and the triumphs from Romulus to Caesar (*fasti consulares et triumphales*, generally referred to as the *fasti Capitolini* on account of their preservation at present in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline) — a form of decoration

which indicated the character of the building as an archive. In the reign of Commodus the Regia was again injured by fire, but it was restored again by Septimius Severus. The building seems to have survived the fall of Rome, but was partly destroyed in the VIII. century (see above p. 134 f.) The ruins were partially excavated in 1546, without however being identified as the Regia; but the more recent excavations (1886, 1889, 1901) have settled the question of its side and architecture.

On the left side of the road is first (near *i* fig. 114) a small room with a good pavement of black and white marble. Built into a mediaeval wall in this room was found (in 1899) an architrave with the inscription:

}ORES·PONTIFICVM·ET·FLAMINVM

The first half of this inscription was discovered in 1546; and the whole of it reads: *in honorem domus Augustae kalatores pontificum et flaminum.* Accordingly the suggestion has been made that the subordinate officials of the priests had their office here at the corner of the Regia. The beautiful architectural fragments which lie here at present are worthy of notice, – pieces of entablature, capitals of columns and of pillars etc.: they belong to the restoration by Calvinus (B. C. 36).

A few steps to the left lie the foundations of the Regia of the republic. A room with a pavement of tufa slabs (*d* fig. 114) has in the centre a round substructure of grey tufa (the top layer is a modern restoration). It has been suggested, but without proper proof, that this was the *Sacrarium Martis.* It is equally improbable that a subterranean cistern (near *f* fig. 114) is the sanctuary of Ops. Farther on are to be seen the remains of the building of the empire. Of the south wall, which Calvinus decorated with the *fasti consulares et triumphales*, very little remains *in situ*; of the entablature how-

ever which crowned this south wall numerous fragments are lying about. This entablature belonged to the restoration by Septimius Severus. The remains of a wall,

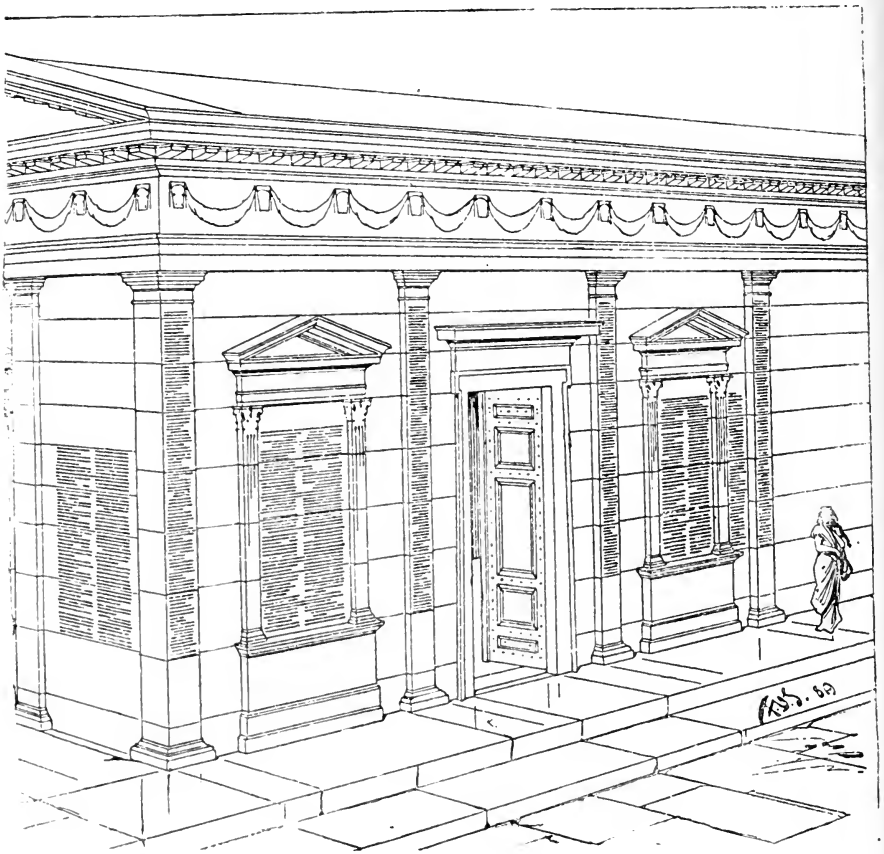


Fig. 115. The wall of the Regia with the Fasti (restored).

which are still standing upright, and also the tablets of the *fasti* themselves, shew that Calvinus's building was very small, but very costly, being built entirely of blocks of marble. Remains of a pavement of white marble, the threshold of a door (*c* fig. 114), etc. have been preserved.

In the early middle ages (VII.–VIII. centuries) the entire north façade of the Regia, opposite the temple of

Faustina, was transformed into part of a noble private residence, similar to the one which was built in the neighbouring Basilica Aemilia: to this building belong the columns of cipollino with the ugly bases of red granite, and the walls built partly of brick and partly of blocks of marble. — The Regia of the republican period extended probably considerably farther toward the east. To this republican building are ascribed remains of tufa and travertine of all sorts which have been found under the foundations of the tabernae, between the house of the Vestals and the Sacra Via (near *z* fig. 125).

XXXIII. The **Temple of Vesta.** The round concrete core, surrounded at its base by several layers of tufa blocks, opposite the Regia is the foundation of the famous temple of Vesta.

Vesta as the goddess of the domestic hearth is one of the most important figures in the oldest circle of the Roman gods. In the private worship of later times, especially of the empire, her cult was to be sure entirely overshadowed by that of the Penates: but in the public worship of the state at the 'state-hearth', as *Vesta publica populi Romani Quiritium*, her cult continued to be one of the most important in Rome down into the latest times of the empire, even after the victory of Christianity.

In the temple – which contained no statue of the goddess – the Vestal virgins tended the sacred fire which was renewed every first of March, the new-year's day of the oldest Roman year (the year of Numa). Besides the hearth the temple contained a holy of holies, the *penus Vestae*, a space, possibly merely a niche in the wall, screened off by tapestries. Here were kept certain mysterious symbols and pledges of the power of Rome, especially the palladium, which Aeneas was thought to have rescued from the burning city of Troy. Men, with the exception of the pontifex maximus, were never allowed to enter the temple, and women were admitted only during the festival of the Vestalia (June 7-15). The temple was several times destroyed by fire, for example in B. C. 241

and 210. At that time its fashion of construction – plaited reeds and a straw roof, in imitation of the ancient round hut of the Roman peasant – must have afforded bountiful food for the flames. But even in the time of the empire, when it was built entirely of stone and metal, it suffered severely, for example in the great fire in the

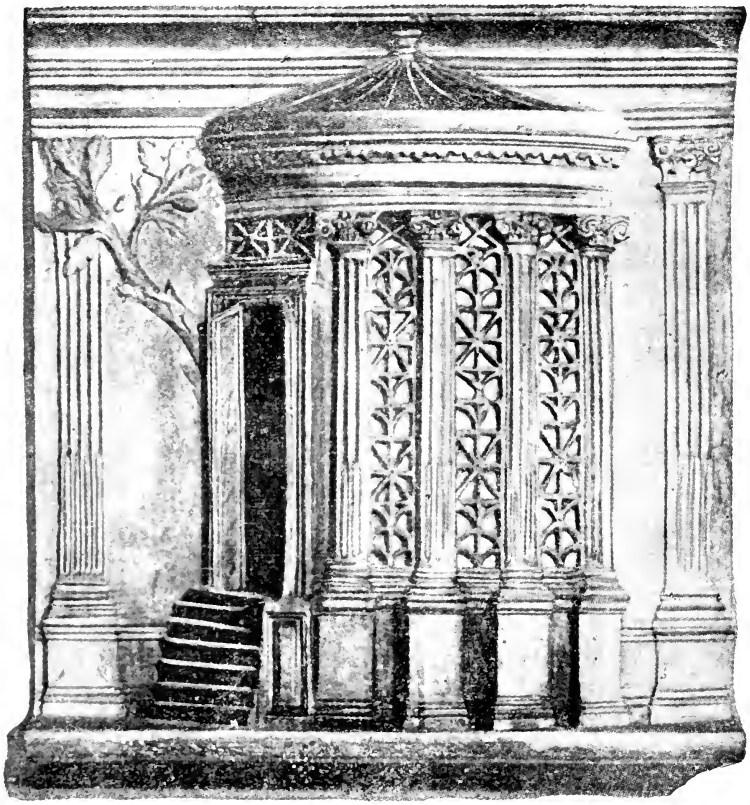


Fig. 116. The temple of Vesta, relief (Florence, Uffizi).

reign of Commodus (A. D. 191). Septimius Severus and his wife Julia Domna restored the building, and it is from this restoration that most of the architectural fragments come. In A. D. 394 Theodosius closed the temple: in the VIII.–IX. centuries it must have been in ruins, for many pieces of it were found built into the mediaeval wall between the Lacus Juturnae and the temple of Castor. In

the time of the Renaissance the knowledge of the site of the temple was so entirely lost that some scholars called the church of S. Teodoro at the foot of the Palatine the temple of Vesta, while others identified the temple with the little round temple near the Ponte Rotto. Not until the recent excavations (1872, 1884, 1901) were the site and the manner of construction clearly known.

The temple stood upon a circular substructure 46 ft. in diameter and ornamented by pilasters. The entrance door faced exactly east: a few steps, the foundations of

Fig. 117. Coins o Augustus and of Julia Domna.

which may still be seen, led up to the portico which surrounded the cella. This portico was extremely narrow, and served merely a decorative purpose: the spaces between the columns were screened by a metal grill-work. The ancient representations on coins and reliefs show this grill-work, and on many fragments of the columns holes for fastening the metal rods may be seen. The space between the columns of the entrance was filled by wooden doors; the framework of the doorway was fastened to the columns by projecting bands which are still to be seen on the columns at various points. The columns supported an entablature the frieze of which was decorated with sacrificial instruments and the insignia of the priests. The cornice, the coffers of the portico, and the frieze inside

the cella were one single piece of marble. By means of these huge blocks (over 9 ft. long), no one of which has been preserved whole, but many in fragments, the columns were joined with the wall of the cella to form

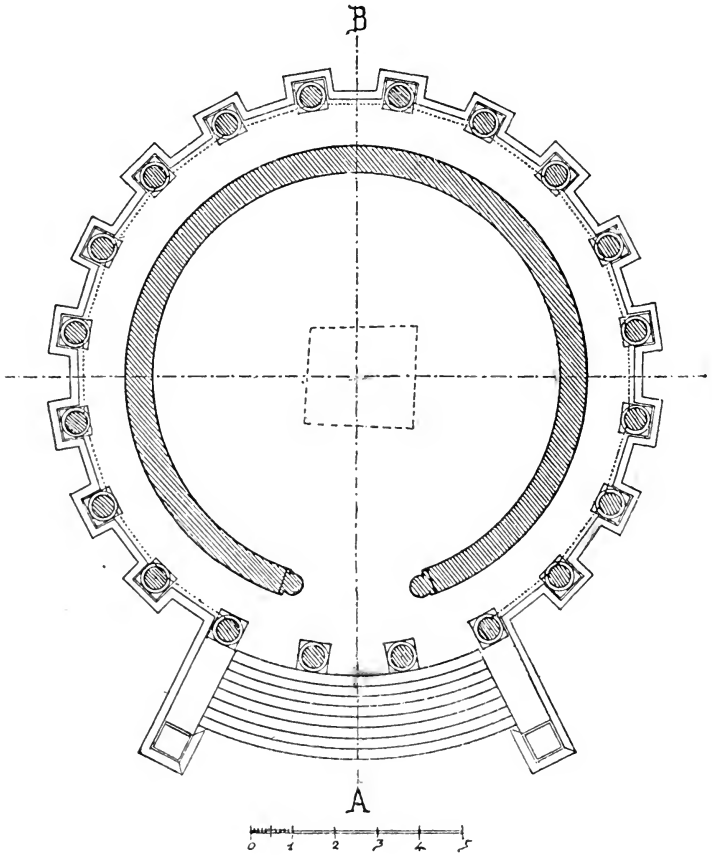


Fig. 118. Ground-plan of the temple of Vesta.

a united support for the roof with its great span (see fig. 119). It is generally assumed that in the centre of the cupola there was a circular opening to admit the light; according to the representations on coins (see fig. 117) it is not improbable that this opening was

crowned by a sort of bronze chimney, possibly shaped like a large flower, which thus protected the interior from wind and rain.

From the back (near *b*, fig. 125; opposite the entrance

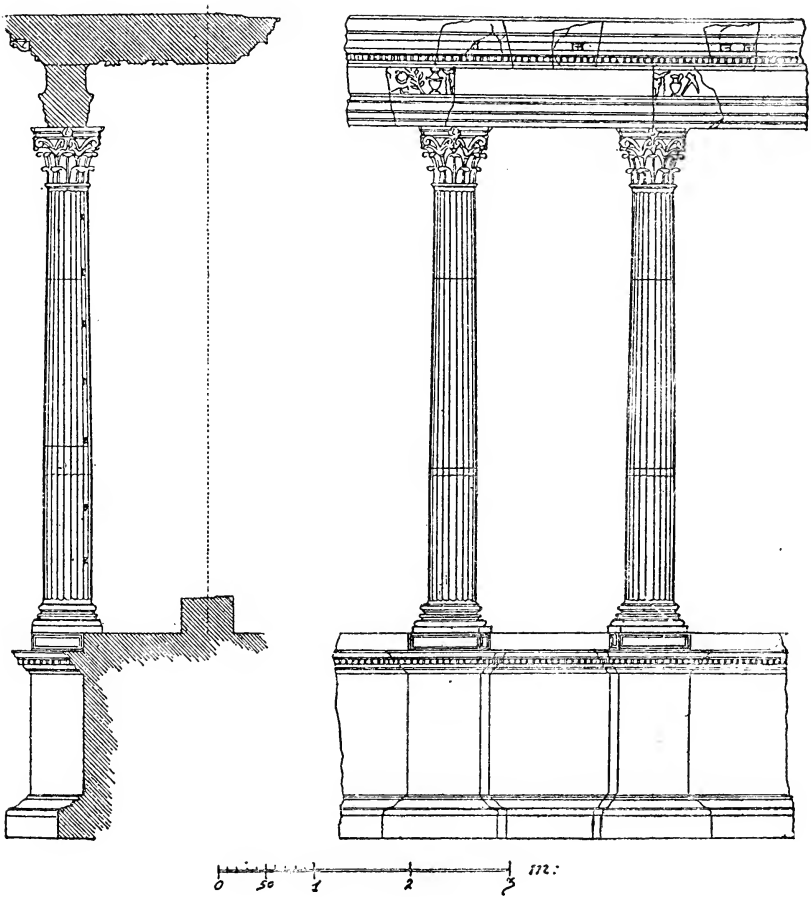


Fig. 119. Temple of Vesta, construction.

to the kitchen of the house of the Vestals) one can enter inside the concrete core of the foundation of the temple; recent excavations have discovered here in the middle a trapezoidal pit (the so-called *favissa*), the existence of which proves that the sacred hearth did

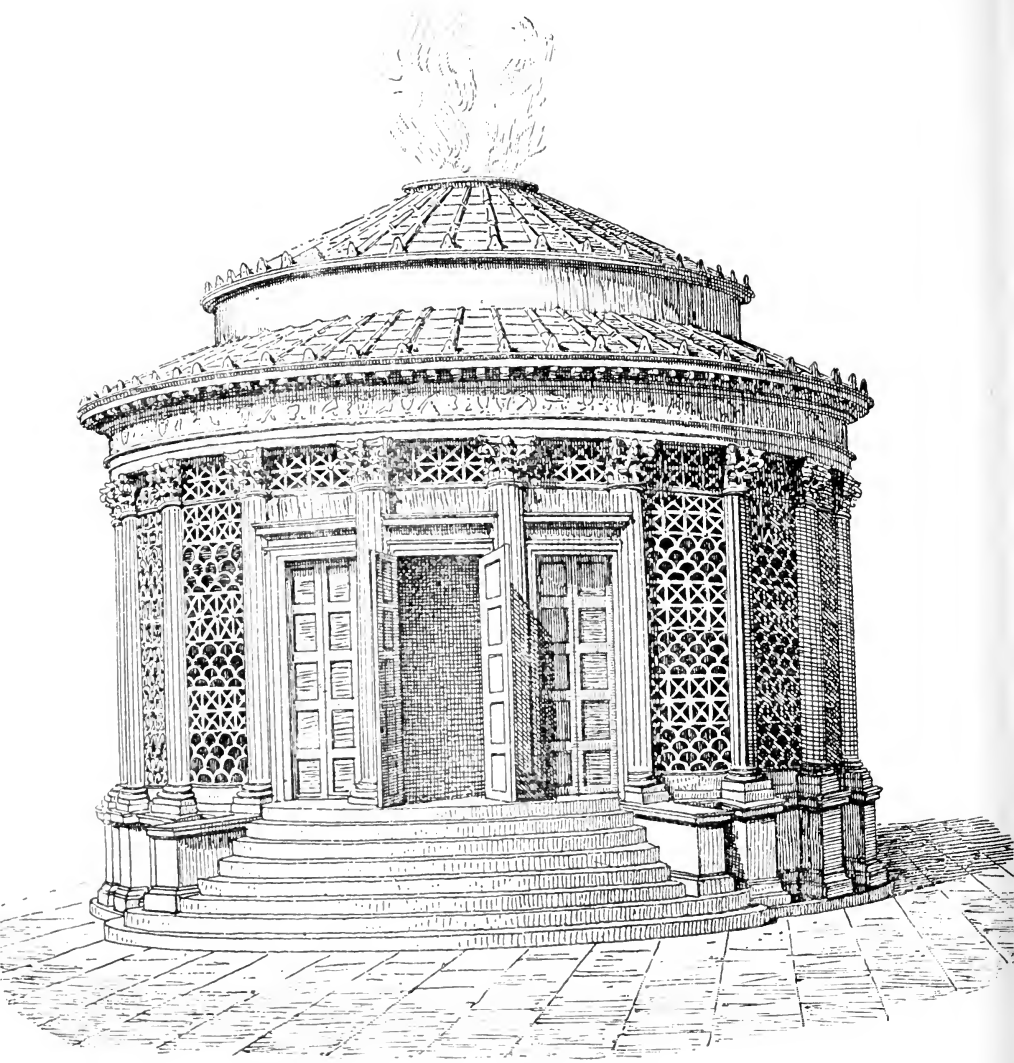


Fig. 120. The temple of Vesta.

not lie exactly in the centre of the cella. The pit served probably for the temporary storage of the ashes and other rubbish, which it was lawful to remove only once in the year: on June 15th, the last day of the Ves-

talia, they were carried to a particular spot on the Clivus Capitolinus, and from there taken and thrown into the Tiber.

Inasmuch as in the temple itself it was unlawful to

Fig. 121. Aedicula of Vesta.

have a statue of the goddess, a chapel (*aedicula*) for such a statue was built near the temple in later times. The aedicula was supported by two marble columns (the shaft of travertine to the left is modern, as well as the brick pillar to the right). The inscription on the architrave

records that the building was restored (at the beginning of the II. century A. D.) by the senate and the people, at the expense of the state. Beside the aedicula several steps of travertine lead up to the entrance to the house of the Vestals.

XXXIII. The **House of the Vestals.** The dwelling house of the Vestals was roomy and splendid, but shut in like a cloister. It is generally called the *Atrium Vestae*, after its main feature, the large court surrounded by a portico. It was excavated in great part in 1883-84, but the west wing not until 1901, after the demolition of S. Maria Liberatrice.

The college of the Vestals consisted of six (in very late times of seven) priestesses, among whom there were probably always some who were still children. At the time of their admission into the college the Vestals were never younger than six, nor older than ten years of age. The pontifex maximus appointed them subject to the consent of their parents: they were compelled to endure for thirty years the strict convent life of the Atrium Vestae, to perform the wearisome service of guarding the sacred fire and fetching the holy water from the spring of the Camenae outside the Porta Capena (on the Via Appia), and to carry out oftentimes extremely complicated ritualistic acts in connection with many sacrifices and ceremonies. The penalties for the neglect of duty were very heavy: a Vestal who permitted the sacred fire to go out was beaten with rods by the pontifex maximus; if she had offended against the command of chastity, she was buried alive in the *campus sceleratus* near the Porta Collina (not far from the northern corner of the Ministry of Finance in the Via Venti Settembre). The service was so severe that in the course of time it became steadily more difficult to find the necessary candidates for the six positions — or more properly speaking, parents who offered their children for the task. The conditions of eligibility were accordingly made more and more easy: for example in the old days it is probable that only the daughters of patricians were allowed to serve Vesta, but in later times maidens from plebeian families were admitted, and

finally under Augustus even the daughters of freedmen were declared eligible. At their reception they often received from the emperor a very considerable dowry: for example even the frugal Tiberius gave the Vestal Cornelia two million sesterces (500,000 fr.). The Vestals were not, like all other women, under the tutelage of the head of the family; instead they were allowed to govern

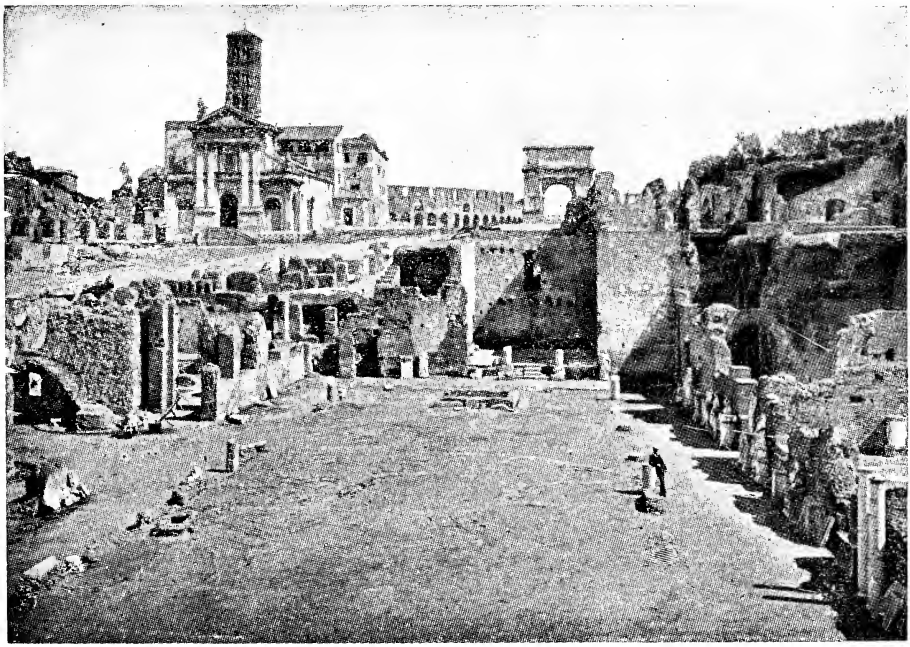


Fig. 122. The Atrium Vestae.

their own property independently, to give testimony in court without the customary oath, etc.; their recommendation had great weight in the civil as well as in the military career; if they accidentally met a criminal being conveyed to his punishment, he was immediately pardoned: they had places of honour at the public games; when they went out into the city they were preceded by a lictor, before whom even the Consul gave way; they enjoyed the privilege, otherwise confined to the empresses, of driving inside the city limits: any injury to their person was punished by death. — In spite of all this, it was extremely difficult in later times, as

the church fathers are fond of telling us, to find the few maidens necessary for the service of Vesta, while the Christian cloisters were filled with consecrated virgins. In A. D. 382, Gratianus appropriated the property of the Vestals; the house was then used as a residence first for the imperial and later for the papal officials. After the eleventh century it was abandoned.

That which has been preserved above the surface of the ground belongs to the building of the empire, and even the oldest parts of it are from the first century A. D. Of older constructions only scanty remains have been found, about three feet below the level of the great central court: they consist mostly of pavements of small fragments of white and parti-coloured marble, with an orientation which corresponds to that of the "old Regia" (see above p. 197). The older house of the Vestals was naturally of more modest dimensions than that of the empire: near this old house at the foot of the slope of the Palatine and the Nova Via lay a holy grove (*lucus Vestae*), which gradually disappeared and was covered by tbe new buildings of the empire.

In the house of the Vestals one can distinguish three groups of rooms, which arose in three differents periods. The oldest part (marked in black in fig. 125), east of the Atrium, contains offices, and dates probably from the first century A. D,; in the south and west wings (indicated by dark shading in fig. 125), which are probably later (middle of the II. century A. D.), lie the living rooms; and the north wing (indicated by light shading in fig. 125), which dates probably from the reconstruction of Septimius Severus, contains for the most part rooms of minor importance.

The great court (Atrium or Peristylium) probably received its present shape in the alterations carried out in the time of Severus. The various buildings which

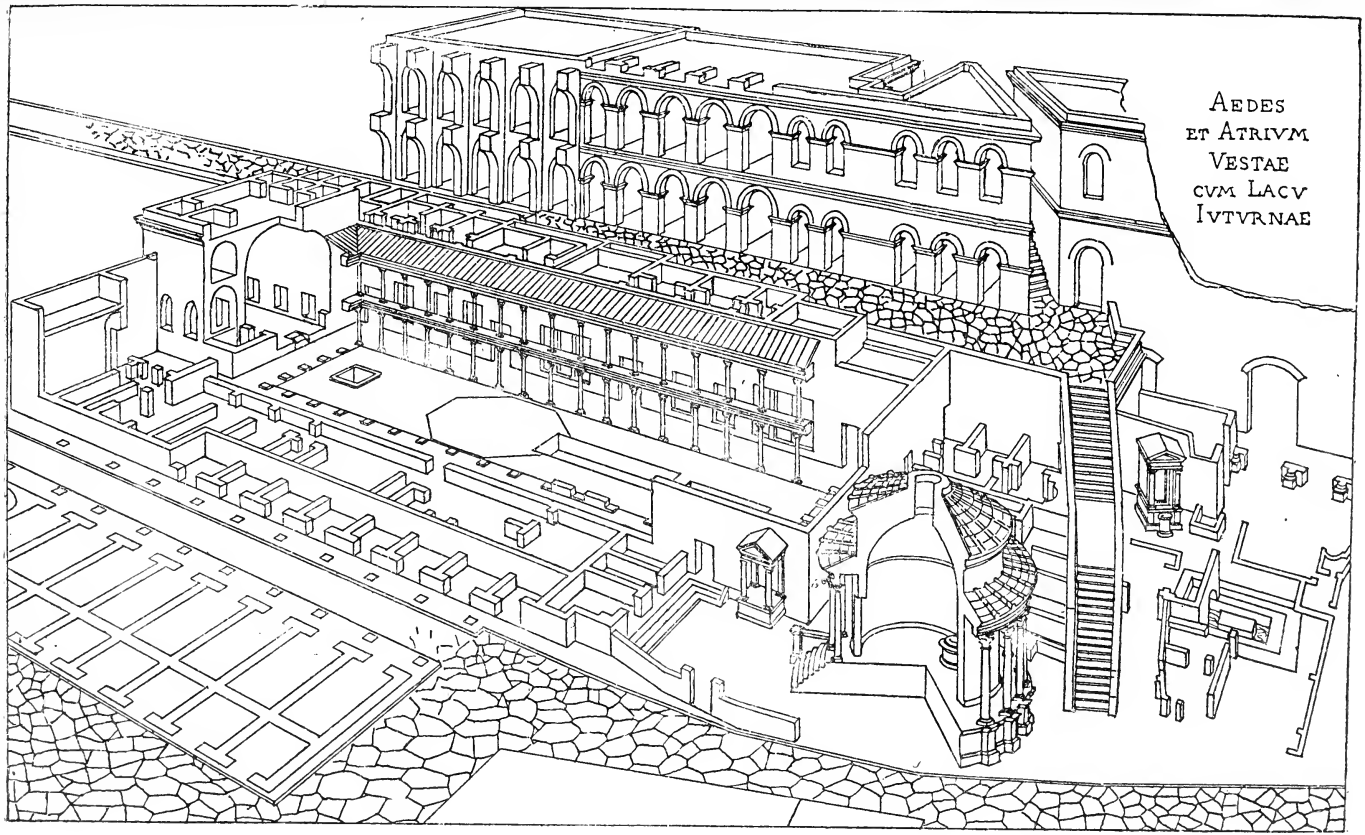


Fig. 123. The temple of Vesta and the house of the Vestals.

surrounded the court differed in regard to the height of their stories; in order to conceal these differences, the court itself was surrounded by a portico consisting of two rows of columns, one above the other, but without any intermediate flooring. The shafts of the columns in the lower row are of cipollino, those in the upper row of breccia corallina with red veinings. Running lengthwise in the court are several long water-basins (the parts of the walls projecting above the ground are modern) which probably belong to the restoration by Severus. The largest of these basins (*d*) must have been already filled in at the time when the octagonal structure in the centre of the court was erected. The foundations of this structure, consisting of great brick tiles, are still clearly visible. It was probably a sort of garden, and served as a reminder of the grove, the *Locus Vestae*, which had disappeared. The stamps on the bricks in this octagon show that it dates from the time after Diocletian.

The chief decoration of the court consisted in the statues of the Head-Vestals (*virgines Vestales maximae*), which stood in the portico and were accompanied by inscriptions on the bases, celebrating the virtues and the merits of each person portrayed. Only one solitary (fragmentary) inscription was found in its original place (at the south-west corner, near *e*): most of the bases and statues were discovered at the close of 1883, at the west end of the Atrium. They were heaped up in such shape that it is clear they were intended to be thrown into a mediaeval lime-kiln. The stones containing the inscriptions lay flat upon the ground, upon them rested the torsos of the statues: the arms, hands, feet, and all projecting parts had been hacked off, and the fragments used to fill up the spaces between the statues. On this account it is not possible to connect a single

one of the inscriptions with its original statue. With one exception (*Praetextata Crassi filia*, a small base) the inscriptions belong to the time after Severus. The Head-Vestals whose names we know from these monuments and from those previously found in the Atrium are:

Numisia Maximilla	201 A. D.
Terentia Flavola	209, 213, 215.
* Campia Severina	240.
* Flavia Mamilia	242.
Flavia Publicia	247, 257.
Coelia Claudiana	286.
* Terentia Rufilla	300, 301.
C	364.
* Coelia Concordia	384.

[The inscriptions containing the names marked with an asterisk are no longer in the Atrium.]

The statues show the Head-Vestals (and apparently they alone, and not the ordinary Vestals, possessed the privilege of having their statues erected) in their official costume. Above the under-garment (*stola*) is a sort of mantle (*pallium*), both of white wool; the front of the head is bare, the rest is covered by a square cloth (*suffibulum*) held together by a brooch (*fibula*). Under the front border of this cloth may be seen the characteristic arrangement of the hair, the six braids (*seni crines*): namely a sort of cap of hair (probably not their own) arranged in six braids, each wound with black and red woolen thread. This old-fashioned and uncomfortable coiffure (which however, in connection with the sacred fire, served at least this good purpose, that it protected the hair from the heat) had to be worn by the Vestals as long as they lived, while the rest of the women of Rome wore it only on their marriage day " for the sake of the good omen – because the bride

should keep her vow of good faith toward her husband just as unbroken as the priestess her vow toward the goddess". — The best preserved of the statues in the Atrium shows on the breast marks of a bronze necklace (chain and medallion): this was not a part of the official costume proper, but seems to have been an extraordinary decoration given by the Emperor. Among the other statues in the court one is worthy of notice, that of a man (an emperor?) with a beard cut out of a separate piece of marble: other statues, among them those of the Vestals which are most important from the artistic standpoint (see fig. 124), have been taken to the National Museum.

The north wing of the house is so badly destroyed that nothing definite can be ascertained in regard to the use of the individual rooms. In the room at the east end (*f*) a square altar was found under the surface of the ground; it was built of ashes and the remains of sacrifices, and its orientation agrees with that of the older constructions already referred to. The adjacent room (*g*), with niches in the walls, seems to have been an open court (a summer triclinium?). In front of the entrance (near *h*) stands a marble base with the inscription: *Flaviae L(uci) f(iliae) Publiciae, religiosae sanctitatis v(irgini) V(estali) maximae, cuius egregiam morum disciplinam et in sacris peritissimam operationem merito in dies respublica feliciter sentit, Ulpius Verus et Aur(elius) Titus (centuriones) deputati ob eximiam eius erga se benivolentiam g(rati) p(osuerunt)*. According to this the statue was erected in honour of the Head-Vestal Flavia Publicia, whose conspicuous morality and great knowledge of all holy rites had been constantly of benefit to the State (the same priestess is mentioned in another inscription, where we read that "she well deserved to arrive at her high position, because she

had passed through all the stages in the priesthood, serving at the altars of all the gods, and piously watching night and day by the holy fire''). The statue was de-

Fig. 124. Vestal virgin.

dicated by two *centuriones deputati* (officials, not unlike the couriers of modern embassies, who served as the means of communication between the governors of provinces and the central power at Rome) and was a

token of their gratitude for her favour, because of which they had received an advancement or some honorable recognition (*petito eius ornatus* is the phrase used in a similar inscription dedicated to Campia Severina by a *tribunus cohortis*).

The east wing dates possibly from the time before the fire in the reign of Nero; no stamped bricks have been found in the walls. We ascend four steps into a room (the so-called *tablinum*) which was originally roofed over by a barrel-vault; the pavement of variegated marble has been roughly patched up at a late period. On each side of this room three small rooms (*i* fig. 125, at present used as a storehouse for fragments of sculpture etc.) open off. These rooms have been wrongly explained as the bedrooms of the six priestesses. Since however their number six is scarcely accidental, the suggestion may be made that these little rooms formed a sort of sacristy, and that one of them was assigned to each Vestal that she might keep there her sacred implements etc. Near these rooms is an open court (*k*), with a fountain adorned with niches, which was probably used for house-keeping purposes (it is shut at present). In the cellar-like vault in the north wall many pottery vases, some of them of archaic form, have been dug up.

In the south wing a corridor runs in front of the rooms. The first rooms have been very much altered by walls which were built in them at a late period. It has been suggested that the first of the rooms (*l*) was a bakery; the second (*m*) contains a well-preserved mill of lava. In both these rooms the floor is elevated about 30 inches above the level of the corridor. A similar construction is to be seen in the fourth room (*n*), where on top of the original pavement a later one supported on small brick pillars has been laid, to keep out the dampness. A brick pavement at a similar height

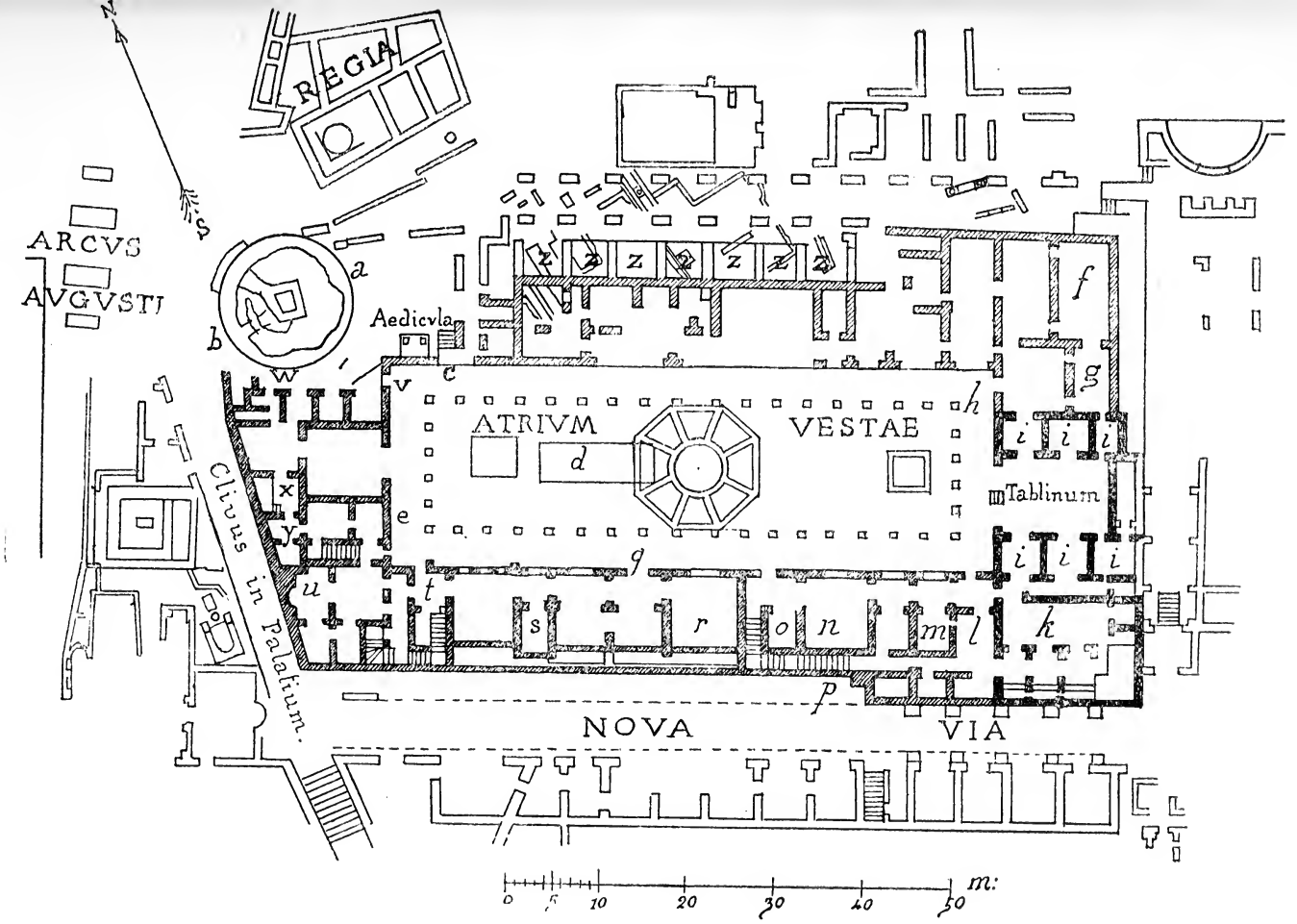


Fig. 125. Plan of the Atrium Vestae.

existed until 1899 in the fifth room (*o*) too; when it was removed a beautiful mosaic pavement of marble, dating from about the second century, was discovered underneath.

Near this room a stairway leads to the upper parts of the house (mostly shut off), which contained chiefly the dwelling rooms. We enter a corridor with several bathrooms on the right. The heating apparatus is plainly visible; the openings of the stoves are to be seen in a small corridor to the rear. Proceding farther, past a fountain covered with marble, we reach several rooms near and behind the *tablinum*, and enjoy a good view of the house itself, as well as of the Sacra Via and the Basilica of Constantine. A staircase which led to the story above is still partly preserved: inasmuch as we are now on the third floor (including the *mezzanino* above the ground floor), the house had certainly four stories, and probably, at least on the side toward the Palatine, five. It afforded accommodation accordingly not only for the six priestesses but also for a large body of servants. Returning to the staircase (to the left, near *p* fig. 125, is an exit onto the Nova Via), we descend to the ground-floor.

Proceeding further in the south wing (through the door *q*) we again reach the corridor at a point where there are remains of a beautiful marble pavement; adjacent is a room (*r*) with a raised pavement and a wall built in parallel to the real wall, both of them for the purpose of keeping out the dampness; near the wall opposite the entrance is a hexagonal base with an honorary inscription for Flavia Publicia. Farther on is a room in which under the ugly brick pavement of a late period a beautiful floor of giallo, Portasanta, pavonazzetto etc. was found. A door in the farther corner of this room (near *s*) leads into a corridor, beneath the pavement of which,

in a drain, in 1899, 397 gold coins of the late empire were found. The great majority of these coins come from the time of the emperor Anthemius (467–472; 345 of the coins bear his portrait, 10 of them the portrait of his wife Euphemia): accordingly the treasure was probably buried by some official of the imperial court who was living in the house of the Vestals in A. D. 472, when the hordes of Ricimer captured and plundered Rome. The coins are now in the National Museum.

At the end of the south wing two stairways lead to the upper story: in the wall of the little vestibule at the foot of the stairs (near *t*) is a small niche for the statue of a god. Adjacent is a room with an apse (*u*), the marble pavement of which has been very roughly patched together at a late period.

In the north-west corner of the court (near *v*) are three large marble bases which were excavated here in 1883. They were built into a little mediaeval house; under the brick pavement of a room a terracotta vase was found containing 835 coins, 830 of which were Anglo-Saxon (King Alfred the Great, 871–900; Edward I, 900–924; Athelstan, 924–940 [most of the coins were of these three kings]; Edmund I, 940–946; besides some archbishops of Canterbury etc.) – in other words a " Peter's pence ", such as was often sent to Rome in the eighth century by the converted Britons. Together with the coins lay a silver pin with the inscription *Domno Marino papa*: the badge of an official in the court of Pope Marinus II (942–946) who, possibly at the time of one of the numerous inroads of the Saracens, had buried in his house the treasure entrusted to him. These coins too are now in the National Museum.

According to its inscription, the marble base which is near the exit originally supported a statue erected by the college of the

Pontifices, under the direction of the Pontifex Maximus Macrinius Sossianus, in honour of a Head-Vestal "on account of her marvellous knowledge of sacrifices and holy usages". The name of the priestess has been carefully erased so that only the first letter *C* can be recognized. The question arises what can have been the reason for this *memoriae damnatio*. The date of the erection of the statue, marked on the right side of the stone (June 9, A. D. 365 "in the consulship of Divus Jovianus [the successor of Julian the Apostate; he reigned eight months] and Varronianus"), brings us into a period when the followers of Paganism were trying energetically to quicken into life again the worship of the old gods (see above p. 25), and when the battle between the Pagan and the Christian parties was waged with especial fierceness. It is quite unthinkable that at this time a Vestal should have been condemned on account of some serious immorality, and that the matter should have been passed over in absolute silence in our abundant contemporary sources. It is accordingly much more likely that the Vestal of her own will withdrew from the college. The poet Prudentius (in the time of Theodosius), extolling the triumph of Christianity, says: "the pontifex lays aside his fillet and takes the cross, and the Vestal Claudia enters thy sanctuary, Laurentius (*vittatus olim pontifex adscitur in signum crucis, aedemque Laurenti tuam Vestalis intrat Claudia*)". It is a very plausible suggestion therefore that this Claudia later became a Christian, possibly a nun in a cloister near S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. This would naturally cause the pontifices to erase her name from the honorary statue.

Returning through the door *c* (at the right near the stairway are the remains of a room with heating apparatus under the floor) we pass to the left behind the temple, where near *w* is the entrance to the kitchen, store-closet etc., which at present are not directly accessible from the court. We pass through a vestibule into the kitchen with its large hearth; behind it is a storage-vault *y* (shut), in which numerous amphorae, plates, cooking and storage-vessels, and a large water-

can of lead were found. In one of the pots was a charred but well-preserved piece of pastry.

The rooms at the rear of the north wing (*zzz*) belong to the house of the Vestals in so far as their ground-plan and their manner of construction are concerned; they are however entirely shut off from the other rooms. Possibly they were rented, at least the lower floor, as shops (*tabernae*), like the others on the Sacra Via. Under the brick walls of the time of the empire have been found numerous remains of older constructions of tufa and travertine (walls with remains of frescoes, pavements of small bits of white marble, engaged columns with bases, a large gutter-drain of tufa etc.). The orientation of these remains corresponds to that of the Regia and of the older ruins under the courtyard of the house of the Vestals.

The Sacra Via.

Only two streets inside the city of Rome, namely the *Sacra Via* and the *Nova Via*, bore the name of *via* which was applied to the great roads leading out from the gates. The other streets inside the city were called for the most part *vicus*, or when they went up hill *clivus*. The Sacra Via and the Nova Via were thus distinguished from all the other streets in Rome. They both started from the "old gate of the Palatium", the Porta Mugonia: the younger, the Nova Via, ran along the slope, half way up, probably under the line of the ancient fortification of Roma Quadrata, encircled the hill on its north-east and north-west sides, and finally ended in the Velabrum under the Porta Romana (in the neighbourhood of S. Teodoro). The great edifices of the empire, especially the temple of Divus Augustus with its adjacent buildings, have rendered it impossible to follow the last part of the course of the Nova Via (*infima nova via*); on the contrary the commencement of the Nova Via between the house of the Vestals and the palace of Tiberius is very well preserved.

Superior to the Nova Via both in age and importance was the "Sacred" road, or Sacra Via. Roman tradition derived the name from the legend according to which, at the close of the war caused by the rape of the Sabine women, Romulus and the Sabine king, Titus Tatius, celebrated their reconciliation by a sacrifice on

this spot. Down into late times the statues of the two kings stood at the point where the street entered the Forum. In reality however the street probably owed its name to the fact that it led from the house of the *rex sacrificulus*, in the neighbourhood of the arch of Titus, to the Regia, and that upon it were situated many sanctuaries, — for example, besides the temple of Vesta, that of the Lares and the Penates, of which however up to the present no remains have been identified. The solemn processions, for instance those of the triumph, which went up to the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus, followed the Sacra Via throughout its whole length; accordingly the meaning of the term was extended in antiquity in ordinary colloquial use, and made to include the descent from the summit of the Velia (*summa sacra via*) by the arch of Titus down to the Colosseum. In modern times the meaning of the term has been still further extended to include the street on the south side of the Forum in front of the Basilica Julia. No example of this use in antiquity has been found, but the term is convenient and has been adopted in this book too for tbe sake of brevity.

According to Roman tradition several of the kings, notably Numa, Ancus Marcius, and Tarquinius Superbus, had their residence on the Sacra Via. In the time of the republic many aristocratic families had houses there, for example the Valerii at the end of the street on the height of the Velia, besides the Scipios, the Domitii, and the Octavii. Under the empire the Sacra Via ceased to he an aristocratic residence quarter and became one of the most bustling business streets of Rome. The inscriptions refer frequently to jewelers, goldsmiths, pearl-dealers, cutters of precious stones, bronze-chasers, and also florists, wreath-makers, and grocers as *de sacra via*. When the emperor Hadrian built the temple of

Venus and Roma on the Velia, he seems to have systematised the Sacra Via at the same time. The brick buildings on the south side, all of which show a unity of plan, seem to have been erected, at least most of them, at this period. In later times the shops on the north side were entirely supplanted by monumental buildings (the temple of Faustina, the temple of Divus Romulus, the Basilica of Constantine). The name, however, continued down late into Christian times; the church of S. Cosmas and S. Damianus in the sixth century, and that of Peter and Paul (which no longer exists) in the eighth century, were both called *in sacra via*. It was not until later that this venerable name was supplanted by the colorless designation "stone-way" (*silex*).

XXXIV. The **Temple of Antoninus and Faustina**. When in the third year of his reign (A. D. 141) Antoninus Pius lost his wife Faustina (the elder), the senate elevated her among the gods and vowed her a temple, the construction of which was begun immediately after her death. A coin struck in the reign of Antoninus Pius shows the façade of this temple. After the death of the emperor his name was joined to that of Faustina as the patron-deity of the temple. The first line of the inscription was added later (in this line DIVO ANTONINO ET the length of the I is not marked, as was done regularly in the second line DIVAE FAUSTINAE EX S. C.). – The vestibule of the temple has six unfluted columns of cipollino (*marmor Carystium*), 55 ft. 9 in. high, and 4 ft. 9 in. in diameter. On the flight of steps

Fig. 126. Coin of the Diva Faustina.

in front, in the middle, stood the great altar for sacrifice. The shafts of the columns have numerous figures and inscriptions scratched on them: Hercules fighting with the lion, Venus, Victoria, a Lar — probably all of them

Fig. 127. Graffiti on a column of the temple of Faustina.

imitations of statues on the Sacra Via. There are also inscriptions of a later period: an ☧, which judged by its form dates from the second half of the fourth century, is the oldest Christian monument in the Forum. The cella has walls of peperino, which were covered with marble; only the frieze has been preserved, with griffins

grouped in pairs around candelabra. Earlier than the XII. century the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda was built into the temple. Possibly the name is derived from that of a pious foundress Miranda — a favourite name in the Roman aristocracy about A. D. 1000. In

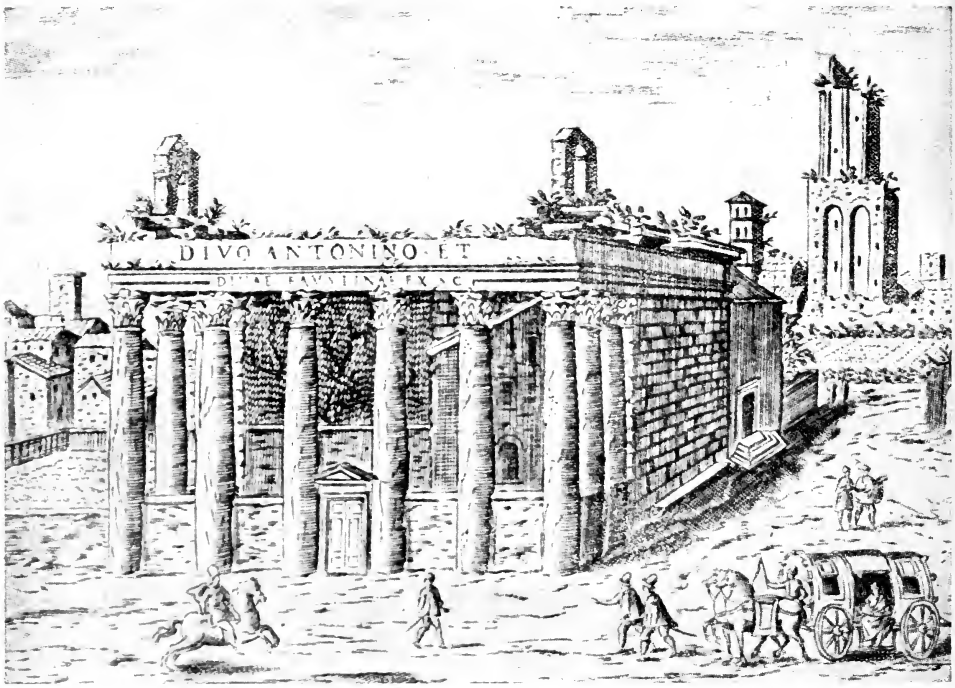


Fig. 128. The temple of Faustina in the year 1575.

the pontificate of Urban V (1362–1370) a part of the cella-walls was destroyed to provide material for the reconstruction of the Lateran palace. The present shape with the baroque pediment dates from the alterations made by Paul V., 1602.

XXXV. The **Archaic Necropolis** (*sepulcretum*). Beginning in April 1902 a very ancient cemetery has

been gradually excavated at the south-east corner of the temple of Faustina, at a depth of from 15 to 20 feet below the level of the Forum of the empire. Its existence was already forgotten as early as the classical Roman period; the foundations of the temple of Faustina were

Fig. 129. Cremation grave C.

built over part of it, and render the continuance of the excavations difficult. Up to the present time there have been discovered some forty graves, usually referred to, for convenience sake, by the letters of the alphabet. Some of them contain bodies which were buried, others bodies which had been cremated; the two classes are about equally numerous. But by far the larger pro-

portion of the inhumation-graves are those of children, while graves in which there are adult bodies buried are comparatively rare. Now since inhumation continues to be the usual practice in the case of children even in periods otherwise characterized by cremation, it may be said that the necropolis belongs chiefly to the

Fig. 130. Vessels from grave C.

period of cremation. In the cases where the body was burnt, a large vessel of pottery was set into a round opening, hollowed out in the tufa, and covered over with small slabs of tufa. The large vessel (fig. 129), which is spherical or oblong-shaped, contains the ash-urn proper, and besides small vases with sacrificial gifts or remains of the funeral meal (fig. 130). In a number of instances, the ash-urn has the form of the primitive Italic hut, round in plan, with thatched roof and door

clearly reproduced. Those found still in their original position had the door facing the east, i. e. the direction of the Esquiline. The bodies which were buried are found either simply in a long trench, or in primitive sarcophagi of tufa (fig. 131), or in coffins made by hollowing out a tree-trunk (fig. 132). The proof that the cremation-graves are older than the burial-graves is found in the fact that in one case a round cremation-grave was cut through in the making of a long

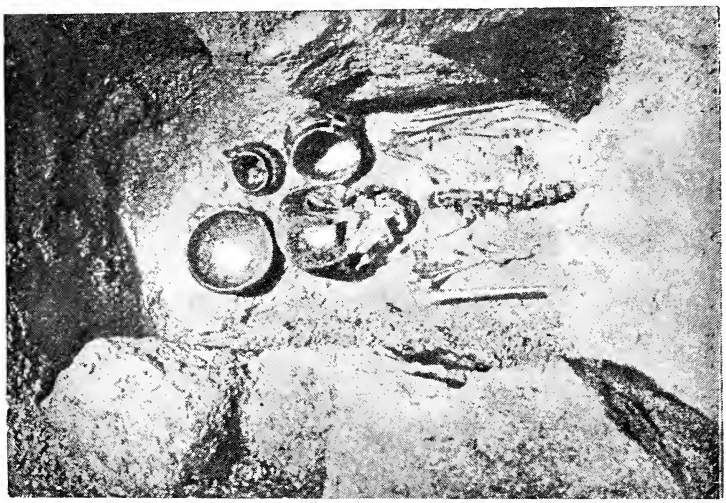


Fig. 131. Burial-grave B.

burial-grave (fig. 135). The gifts to the dead are of the simplest kind, the pottery is mostly made of clay such as is found in the Forum itself, without the use of the wheel. Greek importations are almost entirely lacking, with the exception of a few of the so-called "Proto-Corinthian" vases which are found in the most recent graves. Almost all the pottery is of native manufacture (*vasellame laziale*), black clay (*bucchero*) with zig-zag and spiral lines scratched in it as ornaments, red and yellow pottery with very simple geometrical designs;

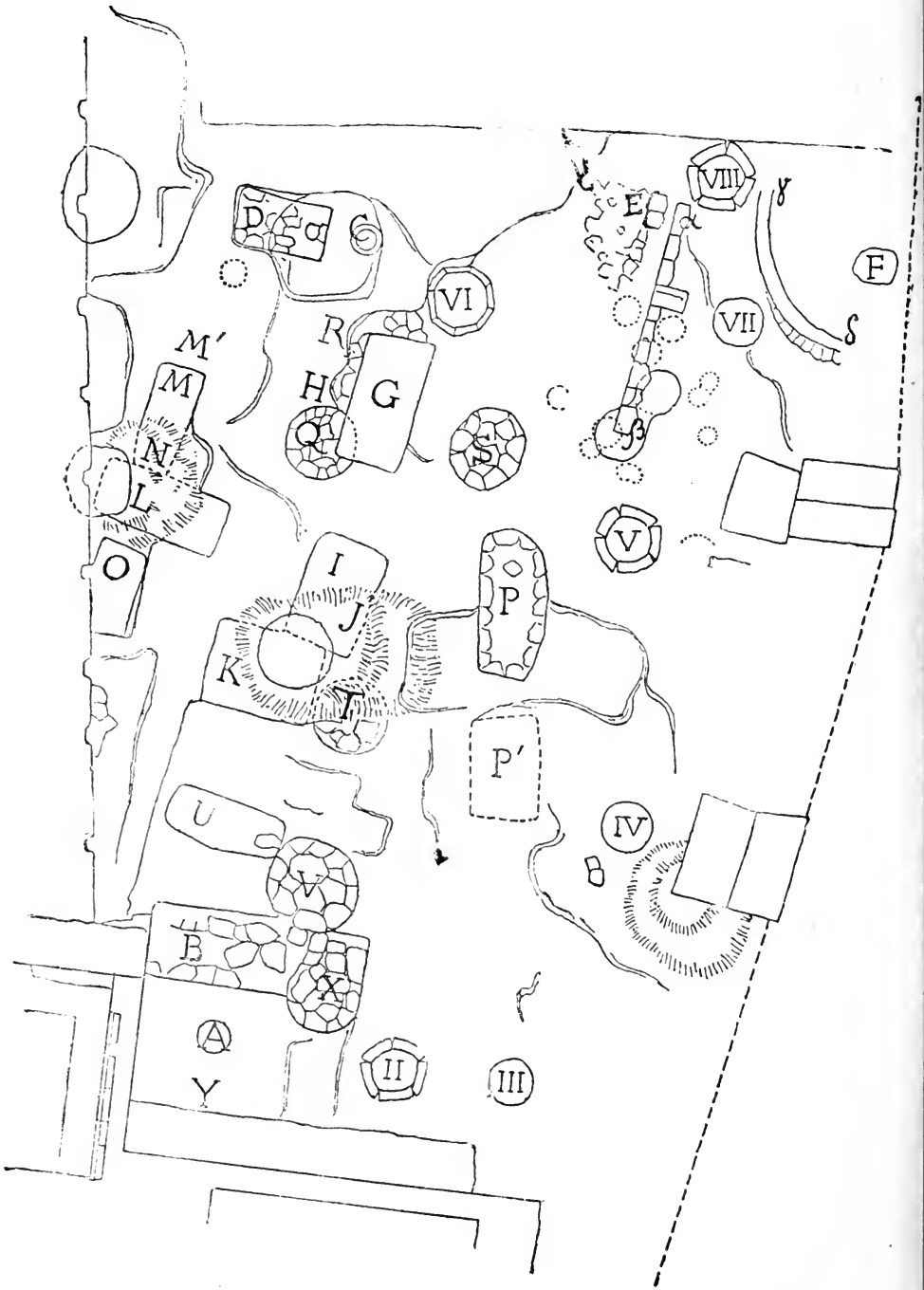


Fig. 132. Plan of the Necropolis.

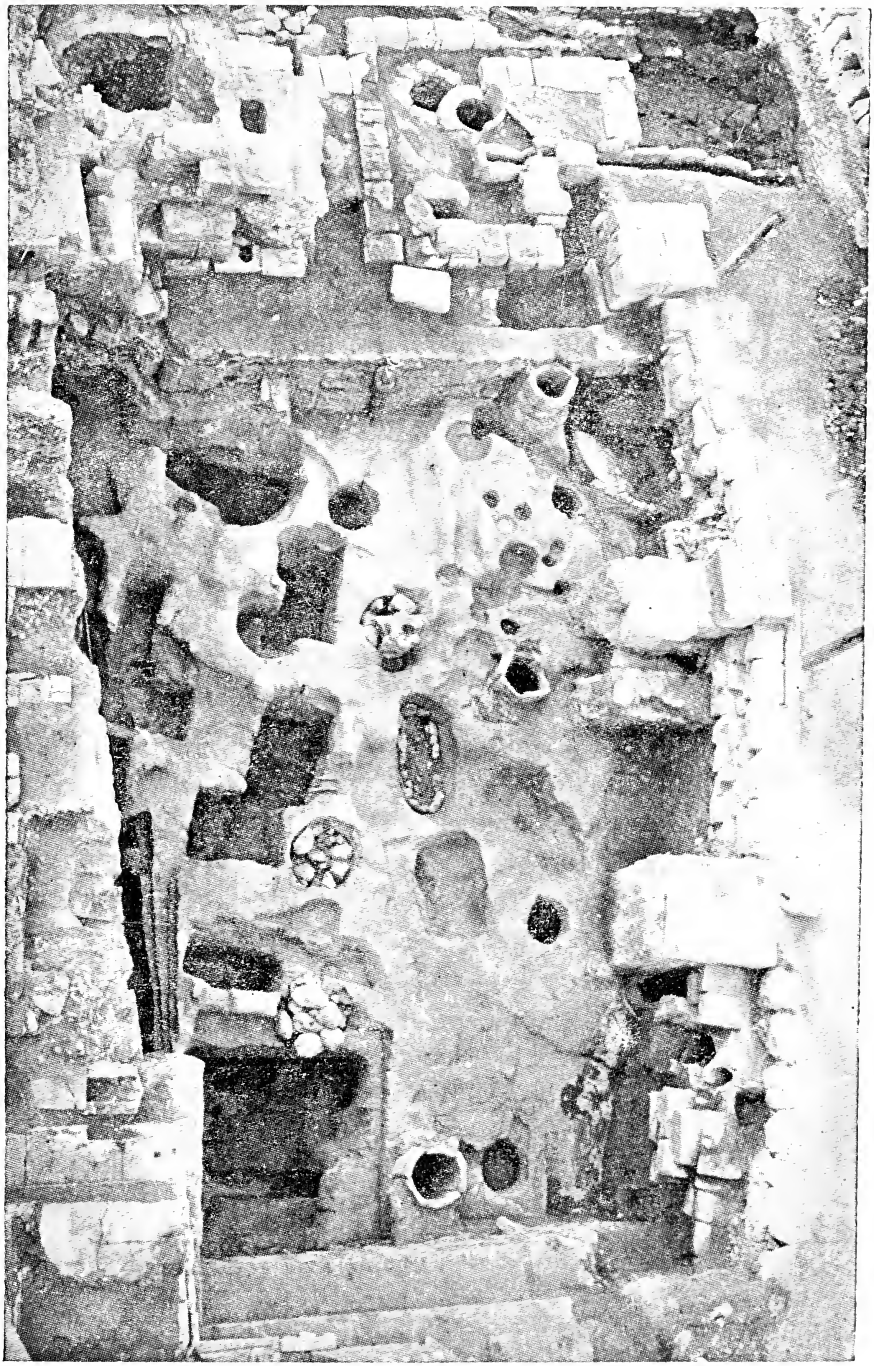


Fig. 133. Birds-eye view of the necropolis.
(From the cornice of the Faustina-temple.)

bronze objects, bits of weapons and of jewelry, especially buckles (*fibulae*), have been found in considerable quantity. Several of these fibulae are ornamented with strips of amber. Gold is not found at all, in accordance with the old Roman custom (later codified as law in the Twelve Tables) that no gold should be buried with the dead except such as was used to fasten the teeth. No silver has been found except a couple of small pins in

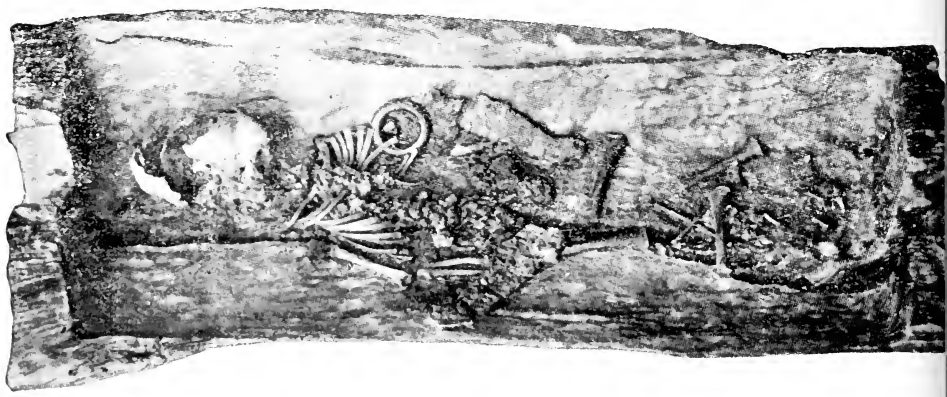


Fig. 134. Wooden coffin from grave J.

the grave of a child. Other gifts are glass pearls, amber earrings, ivory bracelets, etc. Even the most recent graves are not later than the sixth century B. C., and the oldest ones go back into the eighth, possibly into the ninth century, accordingly before the traditional date of the founding of the city B. C. 753. It has not yet been determined whether this burial-place belonged to the first settlers on the Palatine, or to the enlarged city of the Septimontium (see above p. 2). In any case burials must have ceased to take place here after the valley of the Forum was drained and the spot had become the common market-place of the Latin-Sabine settlements on the Palatine and the Quirinal.

According to Roman tradition this occurred, as has been mentioned above (p. 4), in the sixth century B. C.

The contents of these graves have been placed temporarily in a store-house on the Sacra Via (plan I *m*),

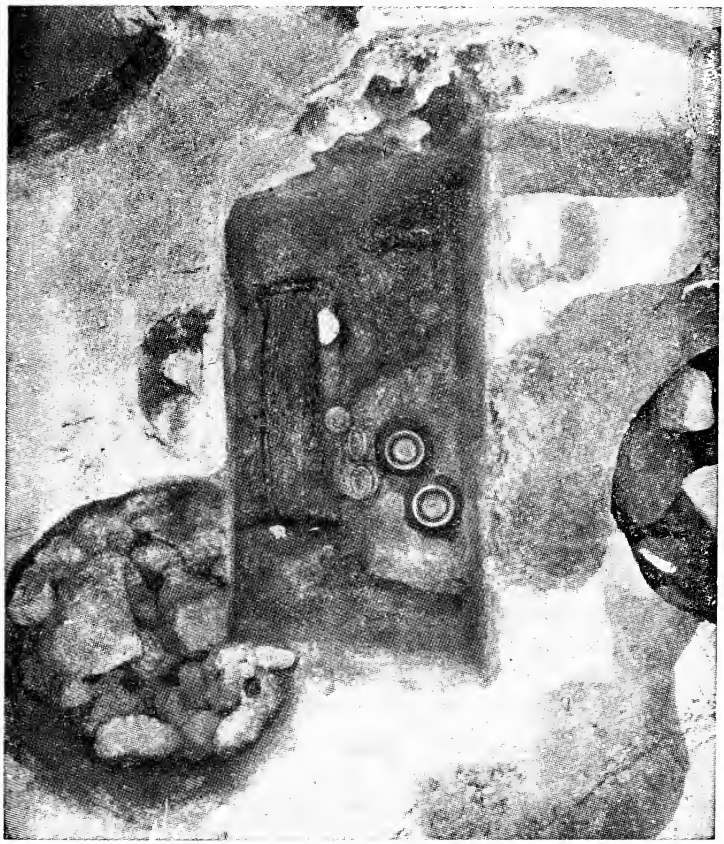


Fig. 135. Cremation-grave Q and burial-grave G.

and are not accessible at present except with the special permission of the authorities in charge of the excavations. When the Forum-Museum in S. Francesca Romana is completed, they will be open to the public.

XXXVI. **Private buildings on the Sacra Via.** Beyond the archaic necropolis certain buildings have been discovered, which judging by their construction are tolerably old and date from republican times. On each side of a corridor are three small rooms with walls of large tufa blocks, strong doorposts and

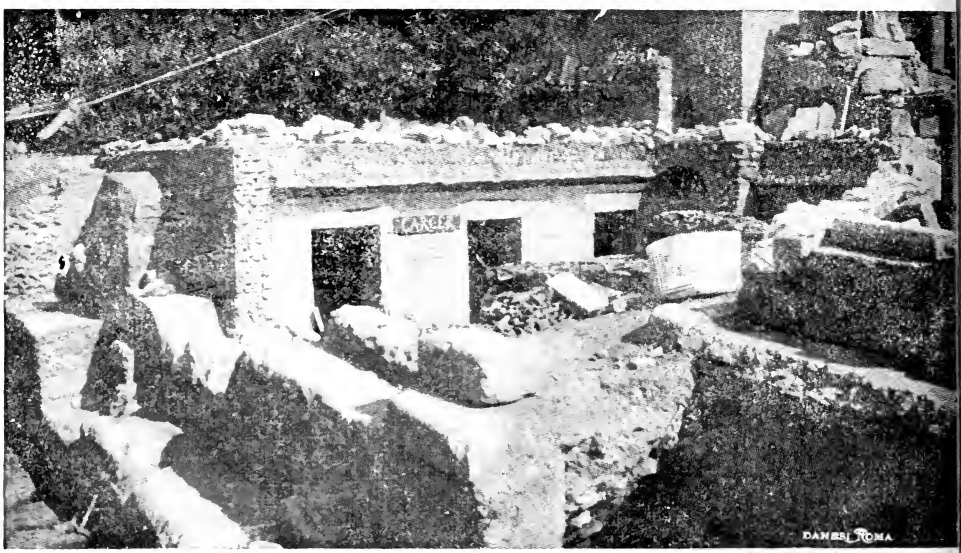


Fig. 136. Private buildings on the Sacra Via.

thresholds of travertine and a pavement of *opus spicatum* (the upper half of the walls and all the ceilings are modern restoration). The excellent preservation of these remains is partly due to the fact that when the rotunda of the temple of Divus Romulus (see below p. 232) was constructed, they formed part of the foundations. These rooms have been thought to be a "Carcer", but this is impossible, because all Roman tradition, in the republic as well as in the empire, knows one prison only, the Carcer at the foot of the Capitoline

(see above p. 123 f.). The buildings are probably merely the cellars of private houses, similar to those which are found in Pompeii. Other remains of private houses on the older Sacra Via, walls and drains of tufa etc., were discovered in front of the entrance to the room (*m*) which serves at present as a Museum-storeroom, all the way to the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano. These remains, however, had to be covered up again.

XXXVII. The **Fornix Fabianus**. On the slope up to the Velia, the Sacra Via was spanned by an honorary arch, which the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus erected in B. C. 121. His grandson of the same name restored it, probably in the time of Cæsar. The inscriptions belonging to the arch, and many fragments of the arch itself, were found in 1546 in the neighbourhood of the temple of Faustina, all built into mediaeval constructions. According to the inscriptions the arch was adorned with the statues of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, of L. Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus of Macedonia, and of Scipio Africanus the Younger. The statues of the builder of the arch, and of Scipio Africanus the Elder, were probably also present. It is not certain whether these statues were placed upon the attic, as was the usual custom in honorary arches of the imperial period. — Other remains of the arch, especially stones from the vaulting, were found in 1882, all of them built into mediaeval constructions. According to these remains the aperture was about 12 ft. 6 in. in width. The site of the arch cannot be exactly determined, because even the most recent excavations have not disclosed the foundations. According to the statements of ancient writers it does not seem to have been situated near the spot (plan II, n. XXXVII) where the fragments are at present heaped

up, but rather in the neighbourhood of the Regia and the temple of Vesta. The arch was thought of as the entrance to the Forum, from the direction of the Sacra Via; the orator Crassus remarked of the vain Memmius that "he had such a sense of his own greatness that when he went down into the Forum he thought it necessary to stoop in order to pass under the arch of Fabius". The arch seems to have been preserved as late as the fifth or sixth century A. D.

XXXVIII. The **Temple of Divus Romulus.** Between the Sacra Via and Vespasian's *Forum Pacis* lies the heroon which Maxentius in A. D. 307 erected to his son Romulus, who had died when a mere boy. The Sacra Via comes so near to the buildings adjacent to the temple of Peace that only a small triangular bit of ground was available for Maxentius's building. Accordingly the architect chose as the ground-plan of the temple a circle flanked by rectangles ending in semi-circular apses. At the death of Maxentius (A. D. 313) the building seems to have been unfinished; at any rate the name of Constantine occurred in the dedicatory inscription, remains of which were still preserved in the XVI. century. The entrance is decorated by two porphyry columns, and a richly ornamented architrave which was taken from an older building. The back of this architrave, which is hidden at present, was similarly decorated. The ancient bronze door has been robbed of its decorations (egg-and-dart ornaments on the frame of the panels, rosettes and stars around the door frame); the old lock is still in use, though the mechanism has been performing its functions for almost 1600 years.

This mechanism is as simple as it is clever (see fig. 138). The door is fastened by means of a horizontal bolt *a* and a vertical rod *b*:

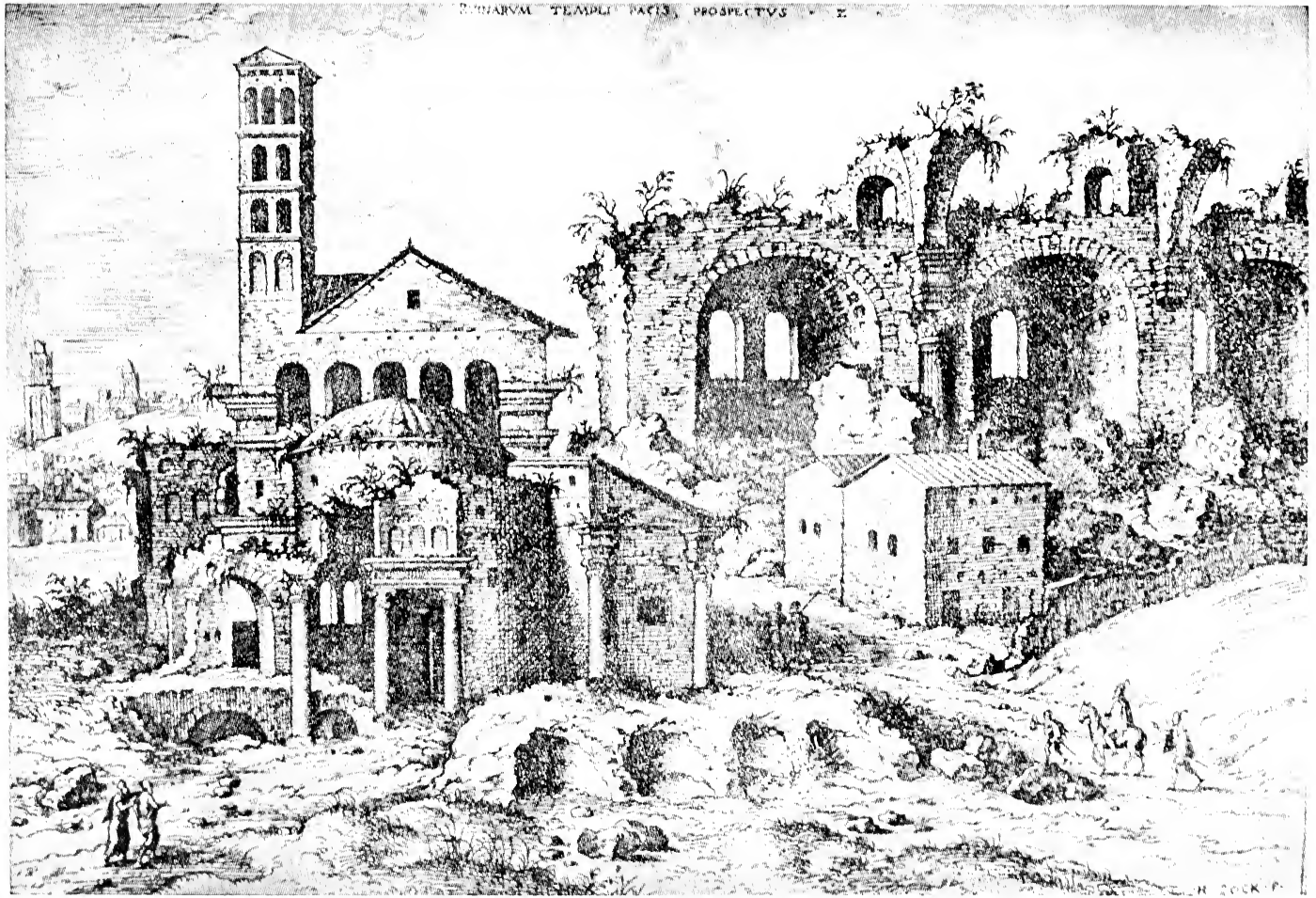


Figure 27. The temple of Romulus and the Basilica of Constantine, about the year 1550.

both are connected with a cog-wheel *c*, which can be turned on its axis by means of a key *d*. To open the door the cog-wheel must be turned half a revolution, by means of which the bolt *a* is shoved back and at the same time the rod *b* is raised. The door locks however automatically; when the rod *b*, gliding across the threshold, strikes the hole *e*, it sinks into the hole by its own

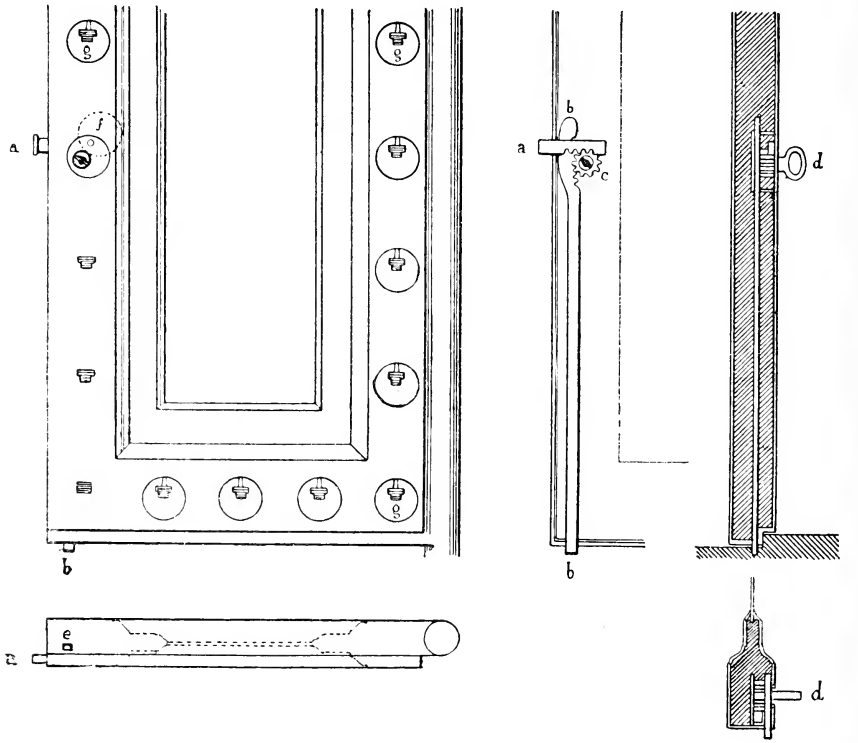


Fig. 138. Old Roman lock of the Templum Divi Romuli.

weight, and in so sinking causes the cog-wheel *c* to revolve, and this in turn pushes the bolt *a* forwards. The key-hole itself was covered by a little bronze shield, *f*, turning on a pivot: this little shield was doubtless decorated like the other shields *g g g* which did not turn, so that the mechanism was concealed from the uninitiated, just as in modern safety locks. The other half of the door had its own vertical bolt, which was raised and lowered by hand.

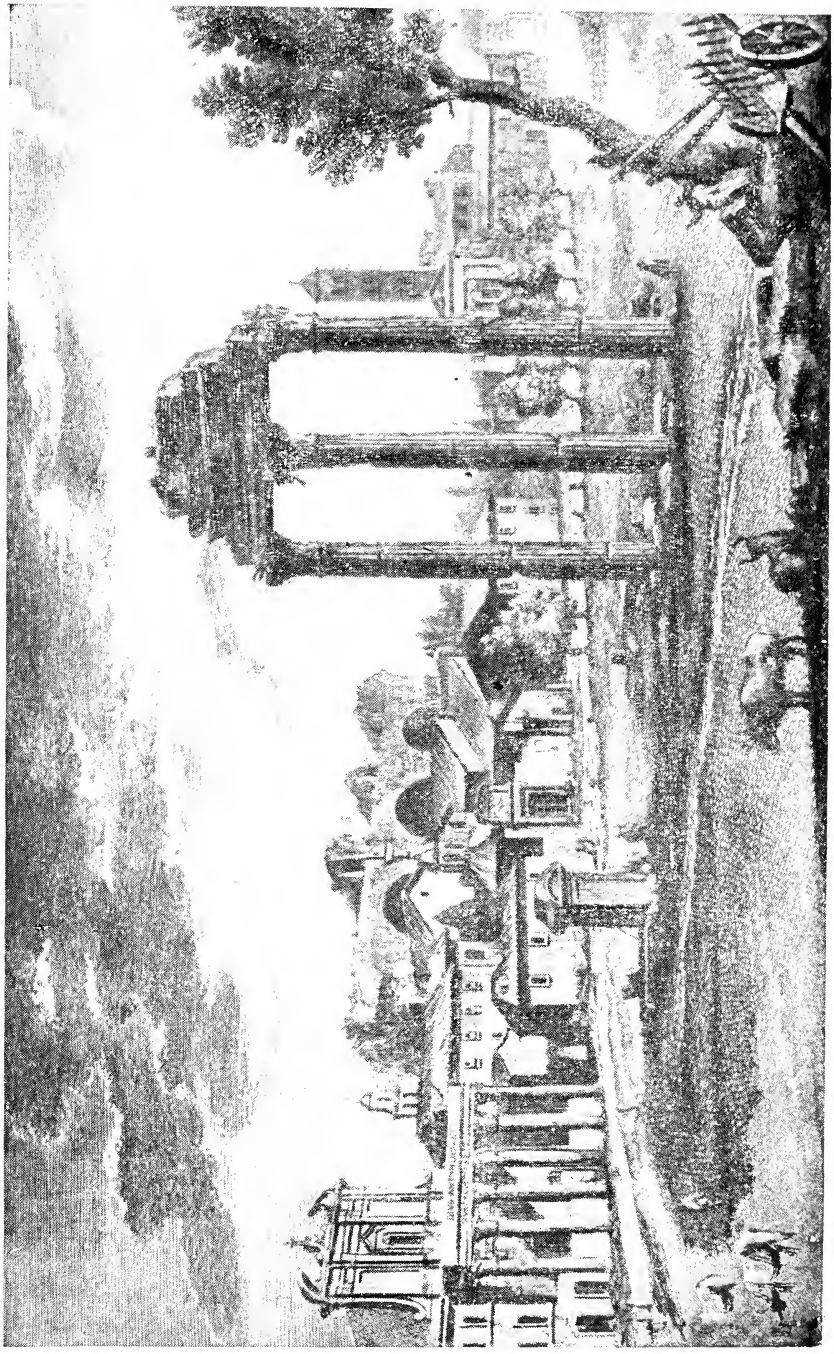


Fig. 139. The Sacra Via in the year 1750.

Pope Felix IV (527–530) made the temple into the vestibule of the church of S. Cosmas and S. Damianus, whereby in all probability the decoration of the interior suffered severely. What was left of this decoration was probably destroyed in the alterations of the XVII. century, when Urban VIII (1630) restored the church, which was on the verge of collapsing entirely owing to dampness and neglect. He raised the level of the floor a story higher, corresponding to the contemporary level of the Campo Vaccino (see fig. 139). Since 1879 the lower part of the church has been excavated and the entrance restored to its ancient level. The interior is used at present as a store–house for small finds; against the back wall is a marble altar of the XIII. century with faint traces of frescoes.

XXXIX. The so–called **Templum Sacrae Urbis.** Behind the round temple is a rectangular building, the east wall of which, an excellent construction of tufa blocks, has recently been entirely excavated. In the centre of the wall is to be seen a door with an arch over it, of travertine, and also of excellent construction. The back wall on the contrary is of brick and exhibits countless holes used for fastening slabs of marble. On this wall was fastened originally the great marble plan of the city (*Forma Urbis Romae*) which was made in the reign of Septimius Severus probably as a renewal of an older plan. The remains of this plan, as far as they have been surely identified, are exhibited in the garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The chief entrance to the building was on the west side, where as late as the XVII. century the entire tufa wall, similar to the east side, and a vestibule with eight columns were preserved. In 1640 Urban VIII demolished this part and used the blocks in building the church of S. Ignazio. This rectangular building has been called the *Templum Sacrae Urbis* (this name has not however been handed down in tradition), and has been explained as a sort of state–archive in which were kept the original of the plan of the city, on papyrus or parchment, the titles to real estate etc., and in which was also a chapel

of the goddess Roma. But the ground plan is not at all that of a temple, and the plan of the city could well have been used as a decoration for the outside wall, even if the interior had been for instance the 'library of the temple of Peace', mentioned by Gellius (II. century A. D.). Besides this, inasmuch as at the beginning of the VI. century the building was changed into a Christian church, it is very unlikely that it had been originally a temple for heathen worship. The church of SS. Cosma e Damiano had on its inside walls down into the XVI. century the ancient covering of marble with mosaics (*opus sectile*), but this was destroyed by the restoration of Urban VIII. The mosaics however in the apse of Felix IV, which was built in later, have been preserved. They are among the most beautiful in Rome, and render a visit to the church well worth while (entrance, on Via in Miranda).

The space behind the "templum" with its beautiful pavement of large slabs of many-coloured marble belongs to the Forum Pacis. Here may be seen a huge piece of wall which fell from the top of the neighbouring Basilica of Constantine. In the inside of this piece a staircase of about twelve steps is still preserved. Considering the height from which it fell this affords a striking proof of the marvellous resistence of Roman concrete. When this piece was excavated it rested upon a layer of rubbish about four feet deep (the walls which serve at present as its support are modern); accordingly it was probably thrown down by a great earthquake, possibly in the XIII. or XII. century. Under the north-west corner of the Basilica is an ancient tunnel which served as an avenue of communication during the whole of the middle ages and was not shut off until 1565. It was at that time called the *Arcus Latronis* (on account of its insecurity?): accordingly the writer of the Mirabilia speaks of a '*Templum Pacis et Latonae*'.

XL. The **Clivus Sacer.** In front of the temple of Romulus the Sacra Via begins to ascend; on the right are many brick remains of private buildings (II.–III. centuries), which are intersected by two long substructures of concrete. These last are probably connected with a new grading of the whole region after the building of the Basilica of Constantine. The brick

structure with arches to the left below the Basilica is mediaeval, and belongs possibly to an aristocratic private house.

Opposite on the right a large number of marble fragments are heaped up together, notably an archi-

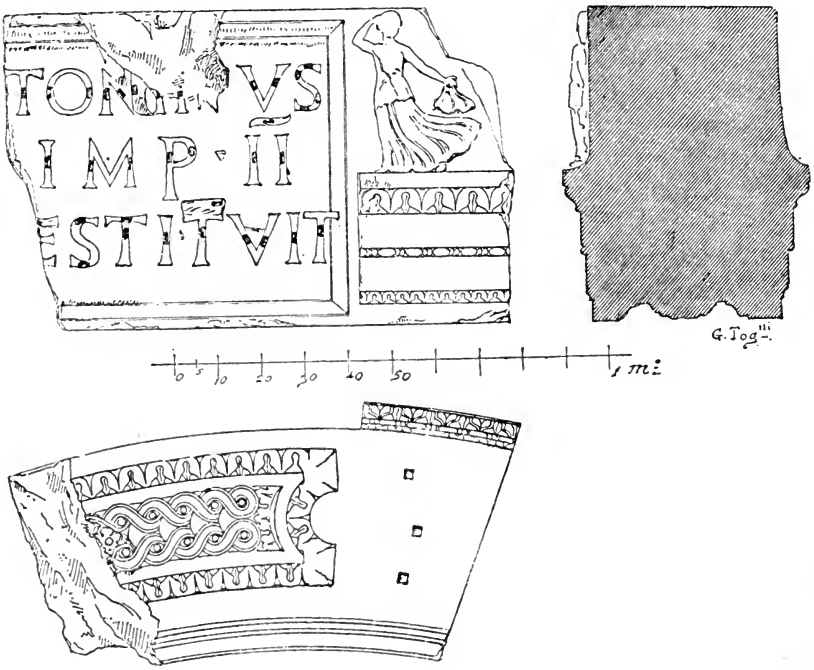


Fig. 140. Fragments of the temple of Bacchus on the Sacra Via.

trave, with an inscription, which belonged to a small but elegant circular structure (about 12 ft. 6 in. in diameter). Near the space occupied by the inscription is the relief of a maenad; accordingly it is probable that the building was a chapel of Liber Pater (Bacchus). According to a statement in Martial such a chapel stood on the height of the Sacra Via at the point where the

road to the imperial palaces branched off. The chapel appears on coins of Antoninus Pius (see fig. 141); accordingly this emperor, whose name occurs also on the inscription, probably restored the chapel.

The pavement of the road, as it ascends, was discovered in the most recent excavations: until 1901 a wretched pavement of a late period covered the road, consisting, like the older one, of large polygonal blocks of basalt, but at a level about six feet higher. The older (lower) pavement cuts through many remains of brick and tufa, belonging possibly to a great bazaar for Oriental wares (*horrea piperataria*) which lay on the Sacra Via, and on the site of which the basilica of Constantine was afterwards built. A modern flight of steps leads up to the south-east corner of this basilica.

Fig. 141. Coin of Antoninus Pius.

XLI. The **Basilica of Constantine.** Between 306 and 310 Maxentius began to construct at the upper end of the Sacra Via a colossal new basilica (*basilica nova*), which was not yet completed at the time of his death (313). His vanquisher, Constantine, completed the building, with certain changes of plan, however. The main entrance was originally on the side toward the Colosseum, and the apse for the tribunal on the side opposite (toward SS. Cosma e Damiano); but later a second entrance was made, from the Sacra Via, and corresponding to this a second apse in the middle of the north aisle. We can still see clearly that the back wall, which was originally

straight, was afterwards broken through in the centre, and a semi-circular apse adorned with niches was built into it at that point. In the middle of the semi-circular wall is preserved the foundation for the seat of the emperor, or of the magistrate who presided over the pro-

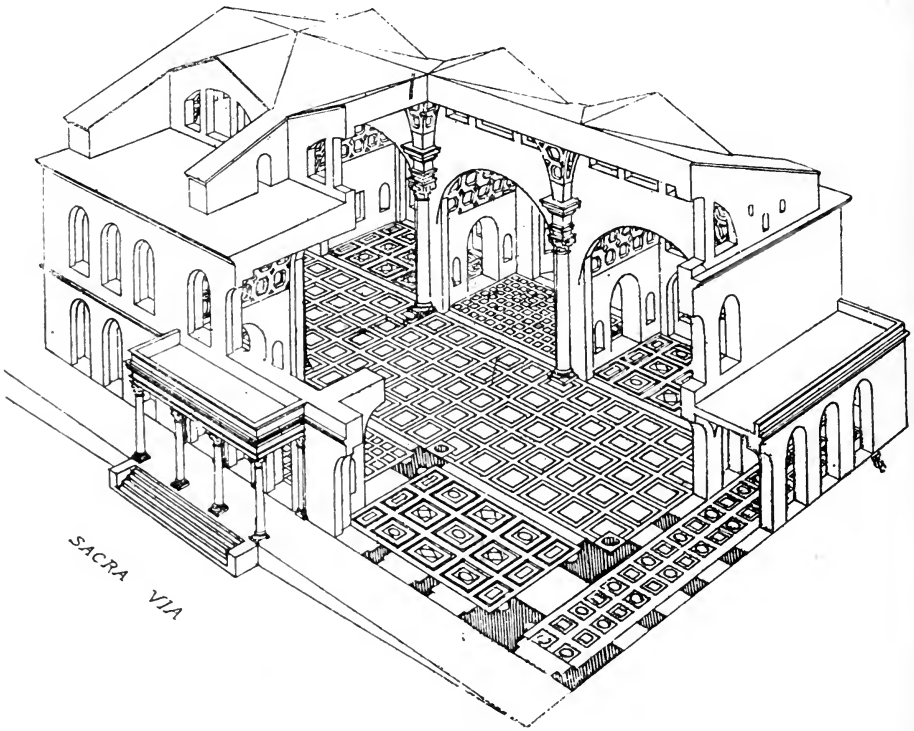


Fig. 142. Reconstruction of the Basilica of Constantine.

ceeding. Besides this a strip of marble is still *in situ*, to which was fastened the rail which separated the space reserved for the judges from that open to the public. The remains of architectural ornaments (brackets with victories, richly sculptured cornices) bear witness to the decadent and fulsome style of the IV. century A. D. Nevertheless the general effect is powerful, and

very different from that produced by the older basilicas with their columns and pillars. We must seek the model for this sort of basilica rather in the great central rooms of the imperial baths (cf. especially those in the baths of Diocletian, at present the church of S. Maria degli Angeli). Four huge piers support the barrel–vaulting of the side–aisles and the cross–

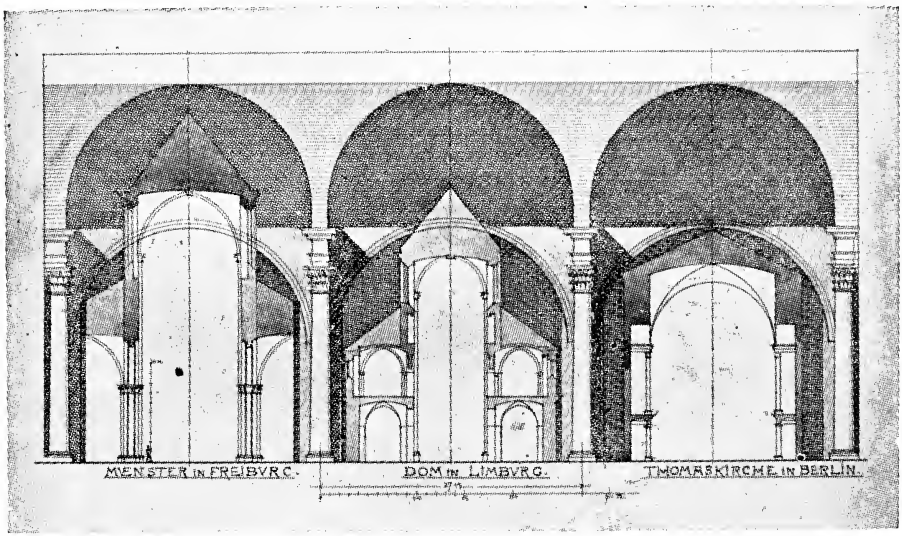


Fig. 143. The Basilica of Constantine, longitudinal section.

vaulting of the central nave. The space roofed over is more than 7000 square yards (S. Maria degli Angeli is scarsely than 2300 square yards). Some idea of the dimensions may be obtained from fig. 143 and 144, which contrast the longitudinal and the cross–section of the basilica with certain important mediaeval and modern churches (the cathedrals in Limburg, Freiburg and Cologne and the Thomaskirche in Berlin). The huge columns which stood against the piers (see also fig. 137) were merely ornamental and did not support the vaulting. The last of these columns was removed by Pope

Paul V to the piazza in front of S. Maria Maggiore, where at present it serves as the support for a bronze statue of the Madonna.

In the western half of the building, many remains of the costly marble pavement, beside bits of the vaulting with the coffers and remuants of stucco, were

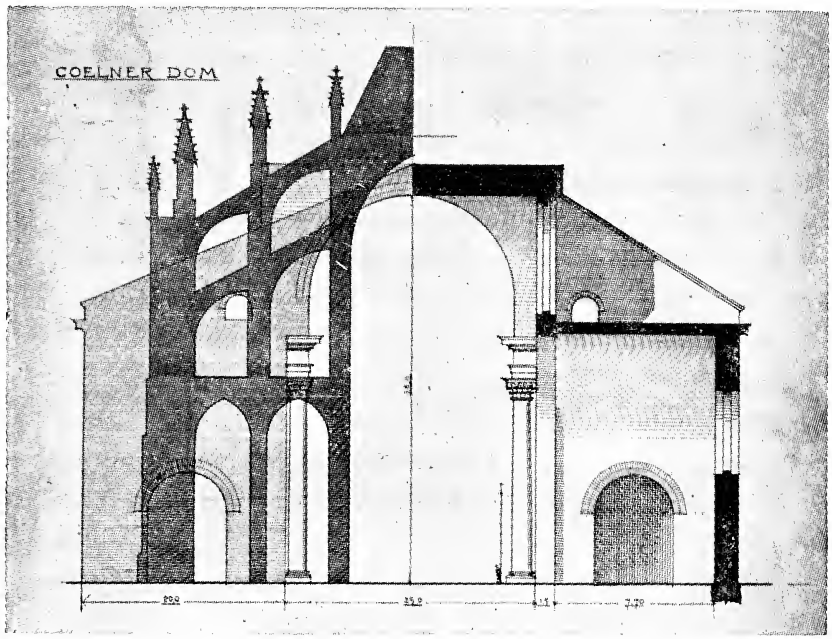


Fig. 144. The Basilica of Constantine, cross-section.

dug up in 1904. After the second apse had been built in the transverse axis, a colossal seated figure of Constantine was placed in the original apse on the west wall; the head of this statue, and fragments of the arms and legs, were dug up here about the year 1490, and are at present in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Near the apse, at the corner of the third arch in the right aisle, an ancient winding

staircase leads upwards. For 54 steps this staircase may still be used, and the continuation of it is in the great fragment which lies at present behind SS. Cosma e Damiano (see above p. 237). The roof of the building, which affords a splendid view over the Forum, Palatine etc., has unfortunately not been accessible for several years.

In the early middle ages the destruction of the gigantic building began: Pope Honorius I (625–638) took the plates of bronze from the roof and used them on the roof of St. Peter's. The enormous size of the building precluded its use for Christian worship or practical purposes. Shortly after this time the building had fallen into neglect and was much injured by an earthquake. In the "Mirabilia" it is called *templum Romuli supra templum Latonae* (see above p. 237): from the fifteenth century on it was generally known as the *templum Pacis*, until Nibby (1819) gave it its correct name.

XLII. The **Temple of Venus and Roma.** From the beginning of the second century A. D. there stood at the summit of the Velia a magnificent temple, which Hadrian in A. D. 135 had dedicated to the patron goddess of the city, Roma, and to Venus, the ancestral mother of the Julian race,

Seventy years before this time Nero had covered the whole region with the vestibule of his Golden House (remains of one atrium with the rooms around it, and a large staircase on the side toward the Colosseum, were found to the north of the temple [see plan II], but they are at present covered up with earth). At the summit of the Velia stood a colossal statue of the Sun-god, having the features of Nero, 95 feet high, with seven sunbeams, each 23 ft. long, about his head. As regards both location and height this statue corresponded approximately to the belfry of S. Francesca Ro-

mana. This colossal statue stood in the way of Hadrian's temple, and it was accordingly transferred from the hill into the valley below. In performing this work the architect Decrianus made use of twenty-four elephants. The base of the statue is still preserved, under the north-east corner of the portico, opposite the amphitheatre. The emperor's plan to erect a colossal statue of Luna at the other corner, toward the *meta sudans*, was never carried out. The temple itself was possibly not completed until the time of Antoninus Pius, on whose coins representations of it are found. Under Maxentius it was injured by fire but restored again, and

Fig. 145. Coins of Hadrian (*a*) and Antoninus Pius (*b–c*).

it was considered, as late as the middle of the fourth century, as one of the wonders of the city. Nothing is known about its destruction; Christian tradition localizes here the contest of the Apostles Peter and Paul with Simon Magus. At the place where, according to tradition, the two apostles knelt in prayer in order to cause the downfall of the sorcerer, between the vestibule of the temple and the western portico, Pope Paul I erected the *Oratorium SS. Petri et Pauli in Sacra Via*. On this same site the basilica of S. Maria Nova was later erected (see above p. 172), which still exists under the name of S. Francesca Romana.

The temple, built according to Hadrian's own plans, was supported by a substructure of concrete about 473 ft. long and 328 ft. wide. At the western end this foundation was only a few steps above the Sacra Via (on the marble blocks of the steps, pl. II *n*, near the arch of Titus, are various graffiti: *tabulae lusoriae*, a gladiator,

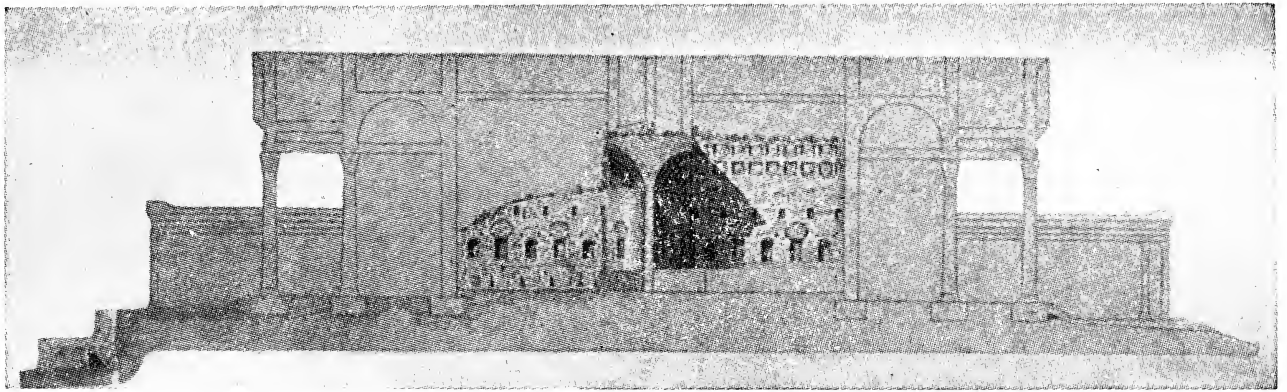


Fig. 146. Temple of Venus and Roma, longitudinal-section, present state.

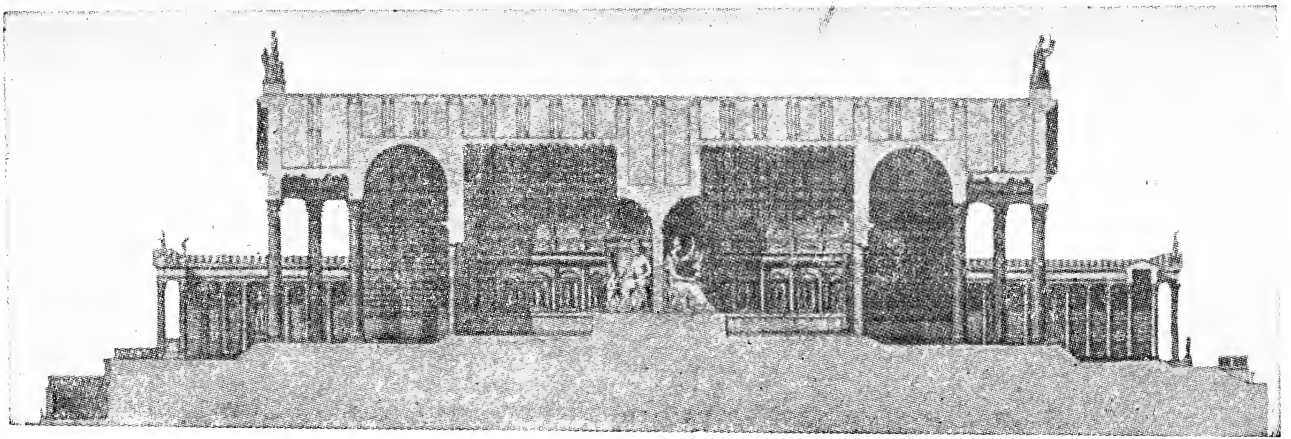


Fig. 147. Temple of Venus and Roma, longitudinal-section, reconstructed.

a race–horse, a centaur with a palm), at the eastern end it was considerably higher than the open space in front of the Colosseum. The long sides of the temple area were lined with porticos having columns of grey granite. At the corners and in the middle they had projections in the fashion of propylaea. How far the porticos were carried along the short sides, we are not able to ascertain.

The façades of the double temple itself had, each, ten Corinthian columns of white marble. The walls of the cellas were of brick, faced on the outer side with blocks of solid marble. The western sanctuary, that which faced the Sacra Via, was probably dedicated to Roma: the group in the pediment is reproduced on a relief in the Museo delle Terme; it consisted of Mars and Rhea Silvia, the wolf with the twins (and probably also the foundation of the city). The cellas had pavements of costly marble, porphyry and serpentine, and niches in the walls for statues, and were spanned by barrel-vaults with richly decorated panels. The western cella, formerly the cloister–garden of S. Maria Nova, is included in the new "Museo del Foro", and is not accessible at present except by special permission. The statues of the patron deities were placed in niches surmounted by half cupolas; the great architect Apollodorus said of these niches: "if the goddesses should wish to stand up, they would strike their heads against the roof", and on account of this remark he forfeited the emperor's favour. The eastern cella, originally dedicated to Venus, opens on a clear space toward the Colosseum and is in a much poorer state of preservation. Numerous mediaeval lime–kilns, which were found in the excavations of 1828, bear witness to its barbarous destruction (one such lime-kiln is still preserved, at the south–west corner, near the arch of Titus, see fig. 8, p. 31). According to the coins

there stood at the right and the left of the temple two great columns with statues, possibly those of Hadrian and Sabina: of the more northern of these statues the

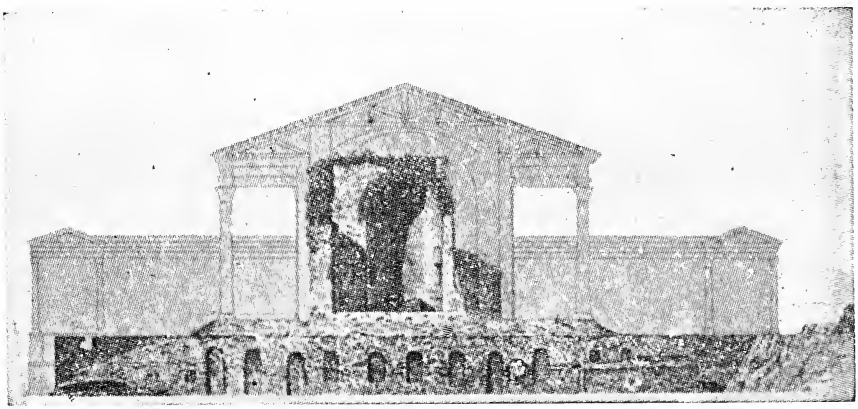


Fig. 148. Temple of Venus and Roma, façade toward the Colosseum, present-state.

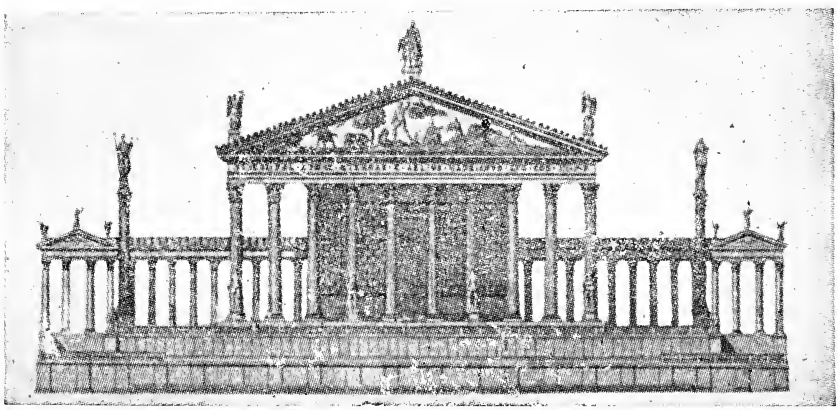


Fig. 149. Temple of Venus and Roma, açade toward the Colosseum, reconstructed.

foundation (in the transverse axis of the building) and a piece of the shaft (of cipollino) have been preserved.

XLIII. The **Arch of Titus.** The arch, which the senate and the people decreed to Titus after the trium-

phant ending of the war in Judaea, was not completed during the emperor's lifetime. Accordingly the inscription (on the east side) calls him *divus*, and in the middle of the arch of the doorway the Genius of the emperor is represented being carried to heaven by an eagle. The arch is not mentioned by ancient writers, and is not referred to in the description of the city written in the time of Constantine: however on the curious relief from the grave of the Haterii on the Via Labicana (now in the Lateran), which represents the Sacra Via from the Palatine to the Colosseum (fig. 150), it appear as *arcus in sacra via summa*. In the middle ages it was inclosed in the fortifications of the Frangipani: at that time the street lay below the ancient level; the blocks of travertine belonging to the foundation, which was laid bare in 1902, show clearly the marks left by passing wagons. Curiously enough the foundation itself rests directly upon the pavement of the older Sacra Via. Accordingly the deduction has been made from this that the arch stood originally nearer the centre of the Velia and was moved after the temple of Hadrian was built. In the upper half of the passage was huilt a chamber, and in constructing the floor the beautiful reliefs of the walls were injured. Sixtus IV (1471–1484) removed most of these constructions, but a part of a mediaeval tower still stood on the attic until the beginning of the XIX. century. In 1821, when these structures were finally removed, it was discovered that the piers at the sides were very seriously injured: it was accordingly necessary to renew them in large part, and this was creditably done under the direction of Valadier. The restored parts are of travertine, without the rich ornamentation of the originals, and hence they are easily distinguished. The reliefs on the inside of the passage-way show to the left (north) the emperor in a chariot; the

emperor himself is being crowned by Victoria; beside the chariot are lictors carrying the bundles of rods without the axes, and behind is an ideal figure having the upper part of his body bare (probably the *Genius populi Romani*). On the right (south) side a section of the triumphal procession is in the act of passing through an arch (only one half of the arch is represented plastically, perhaps the other half was painted on the stone): the treasures of the temple at Jerusalem are being carried on litters (*fercula*), on the first the table for the show-bread and the trumpets of the year of jubilee, on the second the seven-branched candlestick. In the background are three soldiers with tablets, on which we must imagine inscriptions explaining the siege and the booty. — The relief of the frieze on the east side (under the chief inscription) represents another section of the triumph: a sacrificial procession in which

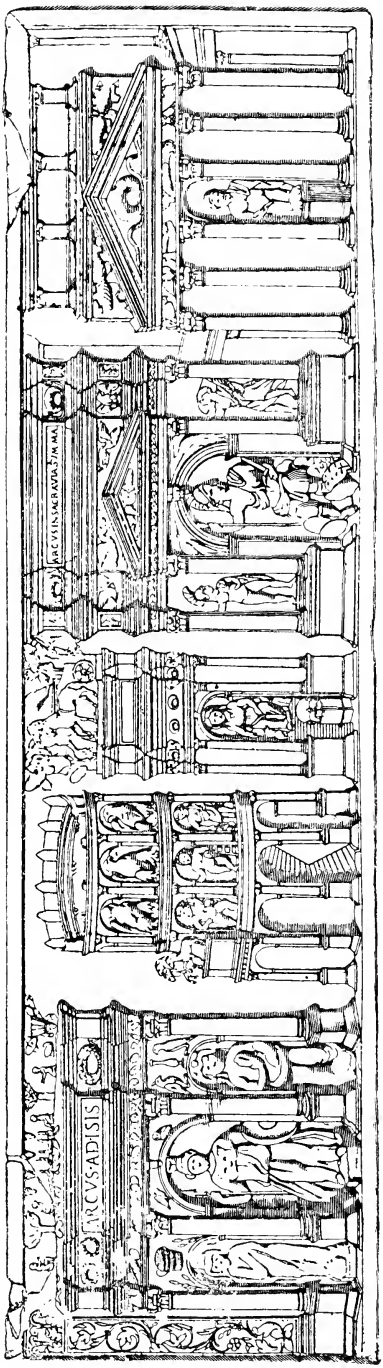


Fig. 150. Relief from the monument of the Haterii representing the Sacra Via.

are being led steers decorated with garlands, and behind them on a litter a reclining figure, probably the river-god Jordan.

At the top of the Velia, where the Nova Via and the Sacra Via unite (near *q* pl. II), the excavations of 1905 and 1907 have brought to light many concrete foundations and brick walls of various epochs, crossing and overlapping each other in a very complicated way. One construction of tufa at the west side of the arch, with a few architectural members of travertine of rather archaic appearance, has been called, without sufficient reason, the *Templum Larum in summa sacra via.* At a considerable depth are to be seen the remains of a street paved with polygonal blocks of lava, which led from the arch of Titus to the chief entrance of the imperial palaces on the Palatine and was also named *clivus sacer.* At the east side of the Arch, between it and the Temple of Juppiter Stator, foundations of tufa, blocks of travertine and pavements of bricks have been laid bare: they belong more probably to private buildings than to public monuments, for instance the elder Temple of Juppiter Stator, with which they have been thought to be connected.

XLIV. The **Temple of Juppiter Stator.** Beyond the arch of Titus at the right of the Sacra Via are to be seen the remains of a great foundation of rather archaic construction (blocks of peperino, concrete in the lower and original part almost entirely of bits of basalt). Probably this foundation belonged to the temple of Juppiter Stator, which according to Roman tradition was founded by Romulus outside of the old surrounding wall of the Palatine, not far from the Porta Mugonia. On this spot, in the war which followed the Rape of the Sabines, the Romans were hard pressed by the

enemy; whereupon Romulus vowed a temple to Juppiter on condition that he would restore order to the broken lines of the Romans and make them hold their ground:

Fig. 151. The Meta sudans, the Torre Cartularia and the Arch of Titus in the year 1575.

and Juppiter granted his prayer. The temple, restored (according to others first built) by the consul Atilius Regulus (B. C. 294), is represented on the relief from the grave of the Haterii (fig. 150), to the right of the arch of Titus: according to this relief its façade had four columns and faced the Clivus Palatinus. It was

still standing in the IV. century A. D.: in the middle ages the Torre Cartularia, the tower of archives for the Roman Church, was erected upon its foundations. This tower appears in many views of Rome in the XVI.–XVIII. centuries (fig. 151): its last remains were removed in 1828. Vestiges of the superstructure of the temple have never been found, either at that time or in connection with any other excavations.

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